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# The History of the Youth Conservation Corps

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# PREFACE

In 1971, when the environment was not yet a political issue--the kind which finds its way into election campaigns--the Youth Conservation Corps emerged as a small but promising environmental work program.

Today, YCC is one of the most outstanding environmental work programs ever legislated for youth. Operated on Forest Service and Interior lands, the program is also conducted throughout the fifty States, the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and American Samoa.

The success of the Youth Conservation Corps lies in its philosophy: Work Hard, Earn and Learn. Thousands of jobs have been created to reduce the tremendous backlog of conservation work on State and Federal lands. During the past decade over 213,000 young men and women have worked for YCC accomplishing conservation work in excess of $280 million. Perhaps the most important growth experience these young people have gained is an increased awareness and appreciation for themselves, others and the environment.

This history documents how the US Forest Service and the Department of the Interior participated in the creation and management of the Youth Conservation Corps. It traces the legislative activities of the 91st and 92nd Congress responsible for creating and expanding the pilot YCC; it covers important influences and issues surrounding the Forest Service during the development period; and it highlights YCC accomplishments which influenced the 93rd Congress to mandate the program as permanent.

Few other youth programs can be compared to YCC. It is one of those rare instances when employment and environmental needs have been met through legislative action to the benefit of both. We hope that this document will serve as a source of reference for future programs whose missions are to meet the employment needs of youth by improving the quality of our environment.

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## Introduction

Few government programs can be so easily understood as the Youth Conservation Corps (1971 - ). Modeled upon the Civilian Conservation Corps of the Great Depression, it was designed for two purposes: to save natural resources and to alleviate high unemployment among the nation's youth. Despite these unimpeachable goals, however, the YCC did not readily pass through Congress. Introduced as legislation three times unsuccessfully, it finally became a small pilot program in the summer of 1971. For the next three years, the program maintained a precarious existence, largely surviving because of strong Congressional support. In 1974, the Youth Conservation Corps became a permanent institution, with an annual appropriation of $60 million.

Several aspects of the YCC's history make it of general interest. First, it provides an exemplary case of dual administration of a single program. Two quite different bureaucracies were charged with its implementation. The Forest Service and the Department of the Interior each received identical funding and each administered its half of the program independently. Their performance under these conditions suggests that dual administration may possess distinct advantages for policy implementation. Second, the YCC began as a pilot program and was subjected to careful Congressional scrutiny each year from 1971 until 1974. This practice permitted an incremental approach to program development, and encouraged experimentation and self-criticism in order to improve performance.

Finally, the YCC is neither a targeted program designed for a single group nor an employment program. It does not segregate the disadvantaged, but includes all segments of American society. Yet paradoxically, by focusing upon integration and environmental education, the YCC appears to have become a cost-effective program precisely because it does not focus upon work. All three of these features of the program -- its dual administrative organization, its implementation as a pilot program, and its cost-effectiveness despite a preponderance of non-economic goals -- suggest uses it may have for policy makers as a model for future study.

This history is primarily a chronological account of the YCC's creation and development until 1974. Based on extensive personal interviews with administrators who implemented the YCC and an unrestricted use of their files, such a narrative necessarily traces the interplay between Executive and Congressional forces as they affected the program in its formative years. From it the student of government may learn something of how laws are implemented, and future administrators can gain insight into the complexity of the role they will be asked to play.

Chapter One

# The Historical Background of the YCC: 1933 to 1970

The development of the Youth Conservation Corps could be described exclusively in terms of the Congressional struggle to approve a permanent program between 1969 and 1974, but such a narrow definition of the history of the YCC would miss much of interest. The passage of the legislation itself resembles the history of many other successful bills. In historical perspective, the chief interest of the YCC has been its administration. In the past two decades, when many well-meaning social programs have failed to get off the drawing board, successful implementation of the law is no longer taken for granted.[1] For example, the "New Towns in Town" program failed to affect a single community and built virtually nothing.[2] This and many other programs associated with the Great Society have come under increasing criticism in recent years. They have been charged with inefficient administration, a failure to define policy clearly, and a consequent lack of measurable results. Mandated programs can fail due to diversion of resources, deflection of legislative intent, calculated administrative delays, inadequate staffing, territorial battles, and many other factors.

Any or all of these problems might have beset the YCC in its first years, especially since the program was created against the wishes of the Nixon Administration. Indeed, even before the first camps had opened, the Office of Management and Budget advised administrators in the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture that they

should begin plans for dismantling the YCC after one season.[3] Yet in 1971 the YCC was created, and it prevailed. Deployed throughout the United States in less than one year, using a minimum of central administrative personnel, it grew from a $2.5 million dollar program to one of $60 million, in five years. How such a program could be implemented and sustained in the face of stiff opposition forms the major component of this history, which includes Congressional debates and decision making as only the most obvious part of a much more complex process.

What makes this process all the more fascinating is the simultaneous implementation of the YCC by two separate agencies, each with identical budgets but with quite different forms of organization. At this point, let us summarize by saying that the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture has a long tradition of decentralized administration, maximizing local and regional autonomy and decision-making. In contrast, the Department of the Interior believes in firm leadership and direction from the top down. These differences will be analyzed in detail below.

But of more importance than these structural differences was the common experience each Department had with the Civilian Conservation Corps. When President Roosevelt established the CCC in March of 1933, with the object of employing 250,000 men that summer, he called upon these and other existing Departments rather than create a new agency.[4] The CCC served two linked purposes: it provided a program of meaningful employment and at the same time it preserved the natural resources of the United States through numerous projects of reforestation, trail-building, fire-fighting, flood and erosion control, and pest control. Between 1933

and its dissolution during the World War II the CCC employed over three million individuals and performed work valued at more than two billion dollars.[5]

Long considered one of the most successful programs of the Roosevelt era, the CCC was a logical model for imitation when Congress sought ways to provide youth with meaningful work, as well as to take care of the enormous backlog of environmental work that needed to be done two decades after the CCC had been disbanded in 1942. Hubert H. Humphrey revived the idea of such a program in 1957 and 1959, proposing a Youth Conservation Corps. He had the support of Lyndon Johnson and Henry Jackson, and together they pushed Humphrey's bill through the Senate, partly due to Johnson's parliamentary legerdemain. But the bill died in the House. Four years later the same Senators had the support of the Kennedy Administration which put together a group of youth bills, including a National Service Corps and the already existing Peace Corps, to form a comprehensive National Youth Program. H.R. 1890 had full Presidential backing, and several Cabinet members appeared in its behalf, most notably Secretary of the Interior, Stewart Udall, and the Attorney General, Robert Kennedy.[6] Since some labor groups and environmentalists also supported the bill, it appeared to have an excellent chance of success, although there were problems with some Southern Senators who planned to put Civil Rights riders on it, thereby dividing Democratic Party support for the measure.

After President Kennedy's death, however, the YCC disappeared into the background. President Johnson's administration emphasized targeted programs for poor and minorities, and pushed Congress to create the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Job Corps, and other Great Society programs. Much of the impetus for these new programs came from a desire

to complete the New Deal legislation of Franklin Roosevelt. Indeed, with the Job Corps in particular the old CCC served as an explicit model for many. Bob Wolf, an assistant to Humphrey in the Senate during these years, recalled, "all the conversation was centered on the reactivation of the CCC; no one really knew what those new programs were supposed to do, but they knew what the CCC had done."[7]

Because the Office of Economic Opportunity was located in the Department of Labor, however, the model of the CCC was not followed in the creation of the Job Corps, since key Labor Administrators had few recollections of the Depression program. As a result, while many liberal legislators continued to support Job Corps, they began to think again of creating a YCC. It would not be a targeted program, but one that mixed all segments of American society and focused on environmental work, which the Job Corps did not.[8]

The thrust of this agitation for a YCC came from the State of Washington, where Lloyd Meeds had campaigned for Congress on this issue in 1964. Then and after he had been supported by Jackson, with whom he found an instant rapport based on the shared vision of a Federal YCC.[9] Both had been impressed with Washington State's own successful Youth Development and Conservation Corps, which had begun in 1960. Jackson and Meeds proved to be a powerful combination because of their committee assignments in Congress. Jackson served as Chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, where any YCC Bill would be sent from the Senate. Meeds held a strong position on the Committee on Education and Labor and its Select Subcommittee on Labor. He also could count upon the support of the Committee Chairman, Carl Perkins (Kentucky), as well as two Republicans, Albert Quie (Minnesota) and Marvin Esch (Michigan),

plus a number of others, particularly Edith Green (Oregon) and John Brademas (Indiana). In order to bring the YCC bill before this friendly group, however, it was necessary to write the Labor Department into the legislation. Although this strategy had the disadvantage that it allowed Labor Department spokesmen to attack the YCC, it had the more important advantage of ensuring that the proposal could get out of committee to the floor of the House. The YCC legislation, if passed, would then be altered in a compromise with the Jackson Committee in the Senate, so that the Labor Department would be eliminated.[10]

A second essential part of the Jackson-Meeds strategy was that the YCC bill would be introduced first into the Senate, where they knew lay more support for the measure. Once it had won a resounding victory there it would be easier to convince the House of the program's value.[11]

Many details of the legislation were worked out with members of the Department of the Interior and the Forest Service. Jackson's assistant Denny Miller served as their chief liaison, and he worked particularly with Governor Aker, Director of Interior's Office Of Youth Programs, and with James Kimball and Jack McElroy of the Forest Service's Division of Human Resources. Aker had been brought to Washington in 1964 by Udall, and Meeds later delcared that, "If there was an administrative hero of this program, it was Governor Aker; he was a real zealot for the program."[12] From the time he came to Washington, Aker was assigned to work on youth programs for the Department of Interior. In his home state of Arizona he had set up successful youth camps in one of the state's reformatories. There he had proven that youthful offenders and delinquents responded well to outdoor work combined with education, and that while they might run away from the cramped conditions of the

reformatory, they seldom left a rural camp. However, in Washington, Aker found it difficult to tap into the programs of the Labor Department, whom he found uncooperative.[13]

As the YCC program began to take shape, Aker found someone who shared his essential ideas. He and Miller worked out the concept of an environmental educational component to the program, partly to keep the costs down, since enrollees would then not need to be paid full time. This would allow the program to reach a larger constituency. Drafting service for the first bill was provided, however, not by Aker but by Kimball, who had also been working on the idea of a YCC, speaking with anyone who would listen to the idea for over a year.[14] Sometime in January, 1969 in response to a telephoned request for assistance, he sent a draft of the bill to Jackson's office. Once revised slightly and put into legal language, it presented the YCC concept in surprisingly few words. It read as follows:

S.1076

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

Policy and Purpose

Section 1. The Congress finds that the gainful employment of American youth in the healthful outdoor atmosphere afforded in the national park system, the national forest system, the national wildlife refuge system, and other public land and water areas administered by the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture creates an opportunity for understanding and appreciation of the Nation's natural environment and heritage. Accordingly, it is the purpose of this Act to further the development and maintenance of the natural resources of the United States by the youth upon whom will fall the responsibilty for maintaining and managing these resources.

Youth Conservation Corps

Sec.2 (a) To carry out authorized programs with respect to the lands and waters referred to in section 1 of this act, there is hereby established in the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture a Youth Conservation Corps (hereinafter refered to as the "Corps"). The Corps shall consist of young men and women who are permanent residents of the United States, its territories or pssessions, who have attained age fourteen but have not attained age nineteen, and whom the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture may employ without regard to the Civil Service or classificiation laws, rules or regulations, for the purpose of developing, preserving or maintaining lands and waters of the United States under the jurisdiction of the appropriate Secretary. Members of the Corps shall be appointed without regard to geographical location or economic status.

(b) The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall determine the areas under their administrative jurisdictions which are appropriate for carrying out programs using employees of the Corps. The rates and hours and other conditions of employment in the Corps shall be as jointly determined by the two Secretaries: Provided, That members of the Corps shall not be deemed to Federal employees other than for the purposes of the Act of June 25, 1948, as amended (28 U.S.C. 2671 et seq.), and the Act of September 6, 1966 (5 U.S.C. 8102 et seq.), and provided further, That no member of the Corps may be employed for a term in excess of 90 consecutive days during any one calendar year.

(c) The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture may provide for such transportation, lodging, subsistence, and other services and equipment as they may deem necessary or appropriate for the needs of members of the Corps in their duties.

(d) The provisions of Title II of the Revenue and Expenditure control Act of 1968 (82 Stat. 251, 270) shall not apply to appointments made to the Corps.

(e) There are hereby authorized to be appropriated to each Department such sums as are necessary to carry out the purposes of this act.

Senator Jackson introduced this bill in the Senate on February 18, 1969.[15] His speech outlined the high unemployment rate of young people in the United States and pointed out the many conservation projects which urgently needed to be performed. Jackson also stressed the educational impact of his proposal. Young people, he said, "would acquire an appreciation for our natural resources and an understanding of our

conservation programs which. . . cannot be taught in schools. In addition, they would develop good work habits and attitudes which would persist for the remainder of their lives." Jackson concluded by saying that the bill, as presented, was "only the bare outline of the concept I have in mind," anticipating that "executive reports on the bill and testimony at public hearings will develop many new ideas which will merit inclusion in the measure."[16] What Jackson did not say was equally important: a short, sketchy version of the bill could not be attacked as easily as one which had been worked out in greater detail.

Senate hearings on the Youth Conservation Corps began April 21, 1969.[17] Since February when S.1076 had been introduced, the Committee on the Interior and Insular Affairs had received unfavorable reports on the proposed legislation from the Bureau of the Budget, the Department of Agriculture, and the Department of the Interior. All three declared in general terms that it would not be a cost-effective program. The Bureau of the Budget further objected that the proposed YCC was not a targeted program designed for disadvantaged youth, and concluded that it would be "of doubtful value in promoting conservation work." [18] These two objections would persist in the Administration throughout the next five years, along with a related belief that other programs such as the Neighborhood Youth Corps offered a superior alternative.

The first witness at the hearings, from the Labor Department, echoed all of these criticisms, cast doubt on the usefulness of work experience of such short duration and questioned the program's safety. While such objections were contested by subsequent witnesses, they could not be proven either true or false without a trial program. Therefore, Senator Jackson early suggested that "it would be wise for the Administration to

consider this measure this year on a trial basis, to see what it can do for about $2 million. For about $2 million I think we could get a lot of valuable information that would be extremely useful."[19] Jackson and his staff were convinced that a pilot program would overcome administrative objections, and had prepared in advance to change S.1076 from a permanent program proposal to an experimental one. That change put the level of expenditure at such a low level that it would be hard to refuse the bill. Jackson knew that camps similar to those they envisioned had succeeded in the past, which augered well for the ability of the Forest Service and the Department of the Interior to make such a program work.

Therefore, when S.1076 was reported out of committee, new language had been added, allocating $3.5 million annually for only three years. These funds were to be shared equally by Interior and Agriculture, who were charged with preparing a joint report for the President each year. Furthermore, in response to objections that this was not a targeted program, language was added specifying that although the YCC should be open to "youth of all social, economic and racial classifications," "preference shall be given to disadvantaged youth."[20] Finally, as part of the Pilot Program, a study was to be prepared on the feasibility of cost-sharing YCC programs with the fifty states. Since Federal lands are concentrated in the western half of the United States, this compensating provision was necessary for eastern states to ensure a more equitable distribution of funds. With these significant modifications, S.1076 passed the Senate on June 24, 1969.

The House version of the legislation would not pass for thirteen months, however, despite the program's modest size and pilot status.

During this period Congressman LLoyd Meeds and the co-sponsors of H.R. 11145 worked hard to rally support for the YCC, locating several conservation groups to testify on its behalf. To their colleagues Meeds, Esch, and Perkins cited the CCC over and over again, as a precursor for such a program which had been successful. They did not have the benefit of any important outside lobbying efforts in that first year however. As Meeds later recalled:

> There was no special interest group which made this a cause celebre. Indeed, this program bothered special interests. The Blacks, Chicanos, Civil Rights Movement supporters and other usually liberal groups were never for it. The Nixon Administration wasn't for it because it wasn't a training program. Environmental groups were worried that the trails built by the YCC enrollees could bring more people into wilderness areas. Women's groups paid little attention to the program although it was to be completely egalitarian, and gave women the same work to do as men. It just never had the kind of constituency that automatically made it their cause.[21]

Despite the failure of many liberal groups to mobilize lobbying efforts, the internal lobbying of Jackson and Meeds found many favorably disposed toward the YCC program. There appears to have been little reaction against the bill, and Congressional support gradually solidified behind it. Simultaneously, Forest Service personnel were able to promote the concept whenever asked to provide information on environmental programs, youth programs, or the backlog of work that needed to be accomplished on Federal lands. As a result, by October 1969 when the House Committee on Education and Labor held its hearings, a groundswell of public support had developed.

Nevertheless, the Nixon Administration remained opposed to the measure, and again the Labor Department provided the major testimony. However, while during their spring appearance Labor Department witnesses questioned the safety and general feasibility of the YCC, in the fall they stressed their own ability to run such a program, pointing to an

experimental camp Labor had operated during the intervening months for 48 disadvantaged youth in Fresno, California. Instead of hypothetical objections, Labor now wished to run something like the proposed YCC within the already existing Neighborhood Youth Corps or Job Corps.[22] There were objections to this on several grounds, however. Members of Congress already knew that both of these Corps would be no larger, and probably smaller in 1970 than they were in 1969. To place the YCC within either of these shrinking existing programs would also deflect it from the original intention, since neither the Neighborhood Youth Corps nor the Job Corps had been developed as environmental education programs. Department of Labor testimony in the House highlighted its unsuitability to administer the program. When the Senate and the House compromised, the Senate's version of the bill prevailed and the Labor Department was eliminated from the YCC's administration, just as Meeds and Jackson had planned when they mapped out their strategy over a year before.

Undoubtedly the exclusion of the Labor Department from the administration of the YCC partially accounts for the success of the pilot program. Aside from the philosophical differences between the YCC and the manpower training programs traditionally administered by the Labor Department, it would have brought with it the many problems of coordination that a third party necessarily brings to any situation. Instead of a single relationship between Interior and Agriculture, there would have been three relationships between clusters of administrators, each requiring part of the Pilot Program's small appropriation. When President Nixon signed the compromise YCC bill into law on August 13, 1970,[23] therefore, its implementation fell to only two Departments, each with its own territory to work in, and each with an identical appropriation.

Immediately the Forest Service and the Department of the Interior formed an interagency Task Force. In early September 1970, less than a month after the YCC became law, Ed Schultz appointed Jim Kimball to head the Forest Service contingent of the Task Force to prepare implementation of the legislation.[24] Kimball was the logical choice for this position, as he had promoted the idea of a youth conservation program for the three previous years. He had served on President Johnson's Council on Youth Opportunity, and at that time tried unsuccessfully to convince Vice President Humphrey's advisors of the value of such a program, modeled on the old Civilian Conservation Corps. Back with the Forest Service full time in 1969, Kimball had been the chief liaison with Senator Jackson's office. He had not only drafted a proposal that became the basis for the original YCC bill, but also written speeches delivered by its supporters, such as that Senator Sykes gave from the floor.[25]

Kimball's immediate supervisor, Jack McElroy, had been equally active in support of the YCC during the previous year, and had several years more experience in Washington. McElroy had come to Washington in 1966 after serving as a forest supervisor in Texas. While orginally assigned to be Assistant Director of the Job Corps (within the Forest Service), he soon was asked to work in other programs as well, particularly with the Neighborhood Youth Corps. As a result of this experience he had many contacts throughout Washington by 1970, and he had developed a good working relationship with Governor Aker in the Department of the Interior. For the crucial first year, he and Kimball would have primary responsibility for the new program's success or failure.

In mid-September, shortly after appointing Kimball, Shultz wrote to several Deputy Chiefs, asking each of them to appoint "one of your most capable staff members" to the Task Force, which held its first meeting September 23, 1970.[26] The members from the Forest Service portion of the Task Force were not intended to be, nor did they ever become, a separate unit within the Forest Service. They were to identify "items and questions which they felt would have to be considered and answered in the planning process." Ultimately, the elements of administration would be handled by specialized personnel in appropriate departments. For example, YCC procurement would be done in one department, while all hiring would be performed by regular personnel officers in another. The Task Force was needed to acquaint each department with the purposes and requirements of the YCC. Once these had been identified and allocated to the appropriate divisions of the Forest Service, only periodic briefings would be necessary. Kimball and McElroy alone would work full time on the YCC; all others added it as a part time duty.

This form of organization could only work, however, because many major responsibilities were located at the regional level. McElroy and Kimball strongly believed in the decentralized tradition of the Forest Service administration. They early drafted a letter sent out from Schultz's office that stressed the responsibility of each region to develop and run their own camps. McElroy had seen the problems of the early Job Corps. Kimball had previously served as a Job Corps supervisor and believed such programs too often had failed to excite their local communities because they were dominated from the top, thwarting local initiative.[27] Therefore, important matters such as potential site selection, recruitment of both personnel and enrollees, determination of

work projects to be performed, and environmental education were left in local hands as much as possible. Administrative guidelines would be provided in each of these areas, field reports would be required, and some inspection trips would be made, but the plan was to give each Forest Ranger the chance to create a camp and to feel it belonged to the region. Local enthusiasm for such camps was clearly high -- the first application had been made before the legislation was signed into law, coming from the East Los Angeles Community Union in late July[28] -- and McElroy hoped to use that energy creatively.

Simultaneously, in the Department of the Interior a parallel but not identical organization was created to administer the other half of the YCC Pilot Program. Its key personnel were already well acquainted with many in the Forest Service, such as McElroy and Kimball, through mutual service in the administration of the Neighborhood Youth Corps and Job Corps. Aker, Director of the Interior's Office of Youth Programs, with Peter Mowitt, and John Stasko, were soon working on the same Task Force with the Forest Service, but did so with somewhat different administrative intentions. The Department of the Interior insists on strong direction of programs from a central administration. A few examples will illustrate the difference between their approach and that of the Forest Service. While the Forest Service decided to provide a fixed amount to each YCC camp, per enrollee, arriving at the budget on a per capita basis, plus other fixed costs such as camp opening and closing, the Department of the Interior budgeted each camp separately according to its particular needs and facilities. Rather than allow procurement officers to operate semi-autonomously at the regional level, Interior officials paid all bills from one central office in Salt Lake City.[29]

Perhaps an even clearer indication of the Interior's centralized control were the training sessions it held for staff members before the camps began. These training sessions were three days long, and included all staff from across the country, usually meeting at a National Park, since these have ample facilities, unused in the off-season. The Forest Service, in contrast, held no such extended training sessions, relying instead on the directives system.

While it might appear chaotic to implement two quite different administrative systems for one program, in fact it would have been much harder to create a single administrative form. Any compromise structure would have been unfamiliar to both of the larger Departments which ran the YCC, and would have caused confusion rather than eliminate it. The differences between the Forest Service and the Department of the Interior are inherent in the quite different tasks and goals of each bureaucracy. The Forest Service is a single unit within the Department of Agriculture; its YCC program could be run without crossing boundries. But the Interior Department runs its YCC program in six bureaus simultaneously. Each of these bureaus itself has different responsibilities, as their names suggest: The Bureau of Indian Affairs, Fish and Wildlife Service, The National Park Service, The Water and Power Resources Service, and The Bureau of Land Management. Only a firm hand and explicit guidelines can create a measure of uniformity in so variegated a system.

Therefore, it is not surprising that the Department of the Interior pushed hard for uniformity. For example, it tried to create only coeducational camps the first year, finally establishing eight all male camps, which were to be integrated the following year. The Forest Service relied more on local initiative, with a resulting mix of single sex and coed facilities, including eight entirely female camps.

In retrospect it might appear that it would have been better for both Departments to require coeducational camps from the start, but this would have been foreign to the Forest Service's normal mode of operation. Moreover, by allowing the regions to experiment, the Forest Service developed a range of data which showed convincingly that single sex camps were less successful than coed camps.[30] The point of this example is not to suggest that either the decentralized or the centralized form of administration is superior, but rather to point out that certain advantages accrued to the YCC because of these differences. Each Department used a structure adapted to a specific bureaucratic form. Yet simultaneously, each Department knew that the other had an identical budget to carry out the same program. The friendly competition which resulted would produce economies and some experimentation. Camps of various sizes would be created in the first year; different kinds of work projects would be attempted; non-residential and residential camps would be compared.

At the end of each year in the pilot program, however, the two Departments necessarily had to join together in a report to the President. Each of the three years could provide positive and negative feedback, allowing for corrections in the next summer's camps. Only if the Departments worked together and improved would their appropriation increase. If competition was built into the YCC's administration by the equal division of funds, a more powerful incentive to cooperate lay in the mutual prospect of increasing the total funds available. This could only be done by sharing information, and by pooling resources if it proved more cost-effective. Eventually, for example, both would use one payroll system, one environmental handbook, and one outside evaluator.

Thus at the outset the YCC was fortunate to be split between two administrations which had built in incentives to compete in the implementation of each year's program, but which ultimately had more powerful incentives to cooperate in evaluating and improving the result.[31] Such a fortuitous combination of competition and cooperation does not appear to have been consciously planned, but it might deserve future emulation.

One should also note, however, two pre-conditions which made this dual administration work. First, the administrators involved were well acquainted with each other before the YCC began. Their mutual respect and familiarity with one another's procedures partly account for the mixture of friendly competition and cooperation which became a hallmark of the program. Second, these administrators knew their territorial boundaries, and did not attempt to direct aspects of the other's implementation. Interior people did not intervene in the Forest Service and vice versa. Because this policy of non-intervention was clear from the start, neither Department could lose anything through joint planning sessions.

It thus appeared that the Youth Conservation Corps was off to an auspicious start. It possessed experienced administrators, strong allies in the Congress, and a unique advantage for a new program, the strong public identification with a previous program, the CCC. Of all the Roosevelt experiments it alone had had no critics. On the negative side, however, none of the participating agencies were officially favorable to the idea of the YCC. The Nixon administration was committed to dismantling the Great Society programs, and worked under severe monetary constraints, due to the high cost of the continuing war in Vietnam. In

short, the times were hardly ideal for the start of a new program such as the YCC, which had not become a reality during peace time under a liberal President. Only if the small pilot program proved an unequivocal success would it be able to survive, and given the problems which usually beset any new enterprise, the future was anything but certain in the fall of 1970.

Chapter Two

## Creating the YCC: The First Two Years, 1970-1972

The new YCC program was greeted in two quite different manners within the bureaucracy. Top level administrators took a wait and see attitude toward it for the most part. But those who were to administer the program were dedicated to it from the start, throwing themselves into the initial planning. Aker, McElroy, and Kimball had worked for the passage of the legislation, and unlike many administrators of new programs they had no difficulty setting their goals. They began to meet on an almost daily basis, formulating the details of the program. The law gave them only a basic structure which they had to flesh out with sufficient detail so that the two agencies could be certain their implementation of the law was consistent. Unfortunately, this productive early period was short lived. Before either the Forest Service or Interior could move beyond preliminary plans for the first summer, the Office of Management and Budget disallowed for submission to Congress a 1971 supplemental budget request for the $3.5 million needed to start the YCC. On November 3, Schultz sent a memorandum to the Regional Foresters declaring that "At this time it appears that neither the Departments of Agriculture or Interior will make an appeal," continuing, "We have included the YCC in our 1972 budget submission."[1] Only the selection of potential sites would continue at the regional level, while in Washington program direction and coordination with the Department of the Interior could go

on at a slow pace, until the summer of 1972. The Youth Conservation Corps briefly seemed stalled before it had started.

But Senator Jackson, Representative Meeds and other supporters of P.L.[91-378 put a reduced supplemental appropriation back into the budget. The insertion of YCC funds was greatly facilitated by the presence of Warren Magnuson on the Senate Appropriations Committee and Julia Butler Hanson on the House Committee. Both were from Washington State and, therefore, were natural allies for Jackson and Meeds. By January 6, 1971, Schultz was able to announce to the Regional Foresters that $2.5 million would be available for the YCC that summer.[2] The reduction of $1 million did mean, however, that the Forest Service and the Interior would each have only $1.25 million to launch the program.

Moving quickly, both Departments' Task Forces met in early January, constructing schedules for the following months to coordinate all preparations. At these meetings Robert Lake, the new Director of Human Resource Programs in the Forest Service, took an active role, urging that YCC camps be considerably smaller than those originally planned, which had been projected to have as many as 200 enrollees, like those in the Job Corps. Camps of 25-50 enrollees would be more personal and could be dispersed over a wider area, an important consideration given the limited funding. This proposal was accepted by the Task Force as a whole, since it would locate camps on as many National Forests and Bureaus of the Department of the Interior as possible.

Simultaneously, negotiations between Agriculture and Interior sought to specify the goals and parameters of the YCC. Peter Mowitt drafted the Memorandum of Understanding in the first week of February, 1971. This document formed the basis for all subsequent cooperation between the

Departments. Its basic form was never changed, and only amended once, largely because matters of detail were placed in a separate document, the Supplement to the Memorandum of Understanding. After the basic document had been signed, the supplement required four more months of discussions. When completed and signed in early June, it specified that the YCC program objectives were to be not manpower training, but learning how to use and protect the natural environment, completion of conservation work projects, the acquisition of self-dignity and self-discipline, and the improvement of cultural communication between youth from different backgrounds. Each Department would seek to enroll 1,100 youths in camps that would last a minimum of 28 and no more than 90 days. Youths would be engaged in a combined work-education experience for 40 hours per week, with sufficient variation in the projects to permit environmental learning to be integrated with work. Camp directors were required to publish rules forbidding alchoholic beverages, drugs, and firearms, and they were to prepare meticulously for safety and medical emergencies.[3] The document also specified that the natural environment should be the focus of the recreational program, established policies of recruitment and payment for both staff and enrollees, and briefly outlined such matters as transportation, insurance and community relations.

By the time this agreement had been formally signed, early in June, 1971, its provisions were already in practice. Five months earlier, YCC regional coordinators had been called to Washington for a briefing. By the time of this meeting the 64 sites of the 1971 camps had already been established, and by February 25, a complete set of instructions were mailed to regional foresters and district rangers.[4] During this period

McElroy was particularly important to the implementation of the program because of his extensive contacts throughout Washington. Public Law 91-378 had specified that "Whenever economically feasible, existing but unoccupied Federal facilities, including military facilities, shall be utilized for the purposes of the Corps. . ."[5] This provision of the law could only be made effective, however, by an administrator who knew where to look for unoccupied facilities. McElroy had excellent contacts in the military, the General Services Administration and especially in the Labor Department. There Bill Hagen, Property Officer of the Manpower Administration, lent, rented, or at times, gave the YCC a wide variety of goods, from tents, vehicles, and blankets to kitchen supplies and utensils. Hagen was a very useful ally for the program, helping to reduce costs. His strong early support, like that of many others, grew out of a belief in the YCC as a program, but could not have materialized without McElroy.[6] As one Forest Service Administrator, who had been in Wisconsin when the YCC began, recalled "Why we'd get a call from Jack to have a truck at such and such a place on a certain date, and we'd get all kinds of stuff we needed."[7]

Similarly, Robert Lake developed contacts with the military. This was especially appropriate because the War Department had been one of the four original agencies that helped to create the CCC in the 1930's. The military could supply tools, work clothing, and camping gear, as well as loan vehicles and provide emergency medical assistance with their helicopters. As a result of an amicable meeting with the Department of Defense on the second of April, Colonel William E. Brown agreed to consider a complete list of procurement needs, specified by location.

Within the Agriculture Department itself, Kimball meanwhile arranged for the donation of surplus foods.[8]

Nor were these donations limited to the national level. Virtually every district ranger found considerable good will in the local community could be translated into some tangible contributions, whether of environmental books, tools, or time given by volunteers offering to instruct or entertain the enrollees. Regional Foresters loaned vehicles and made available cabins and campsites. Some vacant but still serviceable Civilian Conservation Corps camps survived from the 1930's, of course, and such made to order facilities were pressed into service.

With these preparations well underway, Lake turned attention to the Congressional mandate that the YCC be thoroughly evaluated in each of its three pilot years. He wrote to a number of outstanding social scientists and foundations such as the Russell Sage Foundation, searching for qualified professionals who would "study the sociological implications of the pilot project."[9] After examining a number of possibilities, the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research was selected jointly by Robert Lake and Governor Aker of Interior, and awarded a $50,000 contract.

By April the last important component of the YCC, its educational program, was also prepared. A good cross section of environmental and conservation literature had been purchased for each camp, including works by Henry David Thoreau, Aldo Leopold, Rachael Carson, Barry Commoner, Paul Erlich, and the National Audubon Society.[10] In addition, at the end of the month, Kimball sent each camp a booklet, "Environmental Education for the YCC" which included suggested lesson plans and work sheets for students, although it left the organization of the curriculum

to individual instructors. The major control on the educational component lay not in requiring a particular course, but rather in specifying general subject areas to be covered in pre and post testing given by the University of Michigan.

With these preparations complete, the month of May was devoted to compiling accurate information from the regions about each camp and its distance from the nearest population centers, the recruitment procedures which had been used and their relative success, the names of all project directors and employees, expected opening dates of the camps, and basic statistics on the prospective enrollees. All of this information could then be used for program publicity.

In 1969 the passage of the National Environmental Policy Act made it mandatory to inform and involve the public in activities such as the YCC. To comply with these regulations, Lake gave detailed suggestions to the Forest Service Division of Information and Education on possible YCC publicity, and Governor Aker did the same in the Interior Department.

Furthermore, the Forest Service planned to make a short film based on the dedication of the first YCC camp at Sulphur Springs, West Virginia. Entitled, "We Can't Let It Go," the film featured the speech delivered by Senator Jackson and that of Cheryl Cisco, an enrollee whose passionate statement contained the words which gave the film its title.[11]

Even before the burst of June publicity, word of the new program had spread so rapidly that more than 100,000 teenagers applied for the 2,676 places available. The YCC had primarily been promoted through contact with high school guidance counselors, who then had given application forms to interested students. No Forest Service or Department of the Interior personnel or their dependents were allowed to apply the first

year, to guard against nepotism at the local level where selection took place. To a surprising degree the first year recruits to the YCC were representative of the nation as a whole, thereby meeting at the first attempt the requirement that the Corps contain all social, economic, and racial classifications.

Beyond this raw data, however, YCC administrators in Washington would have to wait through the summer to see if the camps proved successful. In the meantime, they prepared a study mandated by law on "The Feasibility of a Federal-State Cost Sharing YCC Program." Under the direction of Patrick Felker of the Department of the Interior and Dick Knox of the Forest Service, every governor's office was contacted. The states' responses were contained as appendices to the report, which concluded:

> The study has revealed a high degree of interest in a cost shared youth conservation program in all 50 states. Furthermore, most of the States have had a wealth of experience in employing youth in conservation programs, especially in recent years. Seven States have youth conservation programs authorized and funded under State law and, in two, State legislation is pending. Because of stringent budgetary problems, all of these programs are small.

In addition to the enthusiastic response from the States, the Washington YCC administrators received piles of favorable press clippings and calls for more camps from every one of the regions. More officially, the Office of the Inspector General visited YCC camps in Washington, Montana, Idaho, and California early in the summer and on July 20 reported "Our survey indicated a successful, well planned and operated initial year for the pilot program." Remarkably, the survey "did not result in recommendations to any level of management."[13]

Even before official statistics could be compiled, it was clear that the first summer's program had been a success. Not only had no deaths, pregnancies, or serious injuries occurred, all of which had been predicted by the program's opponents;[14] not only had very few dropped out; but on the positive side all work projects had been accomplished, often in half the time planned for them. Camp Directors consistently reported that they could scarcely keep ahead of the young work crews. On site visits, both Interior and Forest Service administrators found great enthusiasm for the YCC among the young people in the program, while Forest Rangers and other officials were uniformly impressed with its accomplishments. Yet one summer's success alone did not legitimize the YCC. The Nixon Administration and its Office of Management and Budget still wished to change or eliminate the program, in favor of targeted manpower training. The first year of implementation was over, but would the program be allowed to grow large enough to curb unemployment among teenagers and become an important environmental institution?

By September of 1971, both the Nixon Administration and Senator Jackson were preparing to battle over the YCC. Warren A. Blight, Chief of the Legislative and Financial Reporting Section of the Office of Budget and Finance wrote to the Forest Service to criticize the report on the feasibility of State and Federal cost-sharing. The substantive objections were quite clear. First, "The report does not reflect the Administration's position on the consolidation of categorical grants. This would add still another one." Second, Blight wrote that the letter introducing the report "should take a more neutral approach. This would reflect the effort to hold the line on spending."[15] Since all fifty states had expressed interest in the program, the suggestion to be "more

neutral" must be understood in a larger context. The OMB was not reacting to the success of the pilot program alone. During the dedication of the first YCC Camp, Senator Jackson had called for a radical increase in the program's size, from less than 3,000 to 100,000 enrollees. He had then introduced a bill (S-2454) to amend the Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1970.[16] It would authorize $150,000,000 each year for the program, again to be divided equally between Agriculture and Interior.

Philosophically opposed to such a program and committed to holding the line on spending, the Nixon Administration clearly would oppose Jackson's proposed expansion. The Senator knew this, of course, and expected to compromise at a lower figure than $150,000,000.[17] Likewise, YCC administrators suggested a more moderate sum. Robert Lake prepared a memorandum for Edward Cliff, Chief of the Forest Service, which was then sent to George Shultz at OMB. It stated, in part: "We recommend that the administration support the bill to expand the Youth Conservation Corps program but at a lower level of funding than is authorized by the proposed legislation."[18] Lake recommended a $60,000,000 program or one 40% the size of Jackson's yet still much larger than the $2,500,000 program of the first year. The OMB rejected this proposal. Then Governor Aker wrote from Interior, suggesting a $30,000,000 YCC, as well as some changes in the language of the legislation.[19] Agriculture supported this revised funding level, but OMB again demurred. Both Richard Bodman of Interior and Edward Cliff of the Forest Service were told to oppose the Jackson bill when they appeared before the Committe on Interior and Insular Affairs on October

14, 1971. Statements for both were prepared and sent to the Committee counseling against S2454.[20]

Both Cliff and Bodman were circumspect in their testimony, studiously "neutral" in such a way that it was obvious they did not disapprove of the program. After Bodman's performance, Senator Stevens, who had cosponsored the first YCC bill, remarked, "I want to tell you that having served four and a half years there in the Department of the Interior, I appeared before this committee many times and carried exactly the role you are carrying now."[21] Stevens knew Bodman's real sentiments because extensive contacts between Senator Jackson's office and both Departments had preceded the hearings. Through their joint efforts, busloads of YCC enrollees from the first summer were brought to Washington, from Maryland, Virginia, and West Virginia. The young people all wore their protective hard hats, YCC T-shirts, and other insignia. Collectively, they made a strong impression in the committee room, where they filled every available seat.[22]

Some of the first witnesses were also YCC participants, Cheryl Cisco, Richard Love, and Nancy Croghan. Their testimony was not only favorable to the program, as might have been expected, but refreshingly honest. For example:

| | |
|---|---|
| Miss Croghan: | "Maybe I will get killed for saying this." |
| Chairman Jackson: | "Speak your mind, we really want to know how you feel. We want to make for a good program. . . ." |
| Miss Croghan: | "I think overall the program was terrific. I didn't like the work that much because I think I am naturally just lazy." |
| Chairman Jackson: | "Now you are being very honest." |
| Miss Croghan: | "But the involvement with all the different kids is unbelievable. You have the other people's problems."[23] |

When the neutral statements of the official spokesmen were juxtaposed to such exchanges, it was obvious that the YCC had been a resounding success. One statement summed it up: "A lot of people didn't believe such a place existed where there was no prejudice, and they want to go and see what it is really like. A lot did, believe me. It seemed like a fantasy land, and they are dying to get there."[24]

The enthusiasm of the YCC campers made a powerful impact in the social and political context of the early 1970's. Marches on Washington, draft resistance, defiant drug use, the emergence of the "counter-culture" and the creation of a "generation gap" all underscored growing alienation of youth in American culture. Many were critical of what they viewed as a racist, materialist society which did violence not only to Vietnam but to the natural world as well.[25] The YCC tapped the latent idealism implicit in such critiques of American society. It gave not just work, but meaningful work, intentionally mixing all races and classes in each camp. The Senators supporting S2454 were glad to find one youth constituency demonstrating in favor of a government program. The YCC spoke dramatically and affirmatively to the issues of inequality, racism, and the environment. It was one program people could believe in at a time when a majority of the population opposed the Vietnam War. This political context helps to explain why such strong support for the program emerged across the nation, particularly in areas with YCC camps.

For the YCC had spread its 64 facilities through 37 states, the District of Columbia, and American Samoa. Twenty-three percent of its enrollees had been non-white, including 3.9% Indian and 8.7% Black. More than a third of them came from families with a median income below $8,000, while only one-sixth came from households with more than a

$15,000 income. And the mixture of races and classes had succeeded: only 4 percent had dropped out. The enrollees had worked just shy of half a million hours, accomplishing work valued at $1,762,000. Compared against the total cost of the program, it returned $.73 for each dollar invested, without accounting for the education the youth received.[26] Since 25% of their time had been devoted to educational components of the program, it could be argued that the YCC had been 100% cost effective.

Governor Aker presented these statistics to the Committee using thirteen charts. While he had to limit his comments to simple exposition, they spoke of the program's success.[27] More openly, Robert Marans, from the Michigan Institute of Social Research, declared the YCC a "highly successful program".[28] Marans, with Beverly Driver and John Scott, also of Michigan, had visited seventeen camps personally, spending two days at each. They had spoken with camp directors, staff, and enrollees, as well as overseeing the administration of tests sent to all 64 YCC camps at the beginning and the end of the summer. In the context of this favorable evaluation, however, Marans also found areas which required correction, summarizing them for the committee.

First, because enrollees worked so enthusiastically, they often completed work assignments ahead of schedule. "Often Corps members were forced to wait around" for new assignments and "boredom, and to some extent, resentment resulted."[29] Second, some of the educational programs replicated classroom learning and did not take advantage of the natural environment of the camps. More successful camps integrated education with work. Third, recruitment had at times been too localized, and a wider gamut of enrollees would have been preferable. Fourth, some camp directors appeared less suited to and responsive to youth than they

might have been, and better recruiting criteria were necessary. Finally, the Michigan group had found residential camps superior to non-residential camps because they involved youth more completely, and coed camps preferable to single sex camps, because they had better morale.

YCC administrators were already well aware of these problems in their first year program. After the October hearings they began to plan for the next year, seeking to eliminate them. However, at the same time it was necessary to lobby again for a supplemental appropriation, as OMB did not put the YCC in the budget for FY 1972. As late as mid-November, regional administrators were told in a Forest Service Directive, "We are providing information on two alternative size programs for your use in planning next summer's Youth Conservation Corps program, pending actual receipt of funds. Alternative No. 1 assumes continuation of the Pilot Program at the $3.5 million level. We believe the chances are good that a supplemental appropriation will be provided. . . ." The less likely alternative was that of "a large operational program at the $30 million level as a compromise to Senator Jackson's bill. . ."[30] The smaller figure, however, prevailed.

Even $3.5 million did represent a 40% increase in the program. The YCC would be both expanded and improved. New camps would have to be opened, with all the preparation and hiring that implied. At the local level, more projects would have to be planned than previously, to keep pace with the hard working enrollees. Also, to improve the work process, a new position of youth leader was created to serve as an intermediary between enrollees and the older staff. The youth leader would supervise as a working strawboss, and would usually be recruited from older enrollees of the previous year.

Recruitment would also change. The "nepotism" rule prohibiting participation of employee children was dropped in response to many protests, although it had served a good purpose in emphasizing the openness of the YCC. Second, the recruitment of black, urban youth was to be further emphasized in both Departments. In the first year two thirds of the enrollees had come from rural areas, where few blacks live. Special efforts were planned to redress this balance, through mailings, visits, and other contacts with urban high schools.[31]

These state-wide recruitment efforts implied another desirable change as well, from non-residential to residential camps. In the first year it had become clear that daily commuting broke the involvement of campers in the YCC, while it also restricted selection of potential recruits to those living nearby. Furthermore, commuting enrollees had at times considered their YCC work as a summer job, while those in residence had not. A variety of reasons, therefore, suggested that the YCC camps should be complete living experiences, residential facilities that maximized interpersonal involvement and environmental learning. Therefore, for 1972, the two agencies planned to place three fourths of all enrollees in residential camps.

In line with this thinking, the environmental program itself would become the particular focus of the Institute for Social Research in its second year of evaluation. An improved handbook for environmental awareness would also be prepared, with a set of general objectives. These were developed over the course of the winter by Aker, Lake, and their staffs. The Environmental Awareness Objectives could not be a mere list of particulars to be mastered by students during the summer. The environment at each site varied from that of the others, from near desert

terrain in the Southwest to tropical forest in Puerto Rico. As a result, only a set of generally applicable concepts could be made a part of the curriculum for every camp. The design of specific educational units would be left to the educator at the site -- usually a high school science teacher. Whatever its location, every YCC camp permitted enrollees to learn the general concepts of the food chain, the water cycle, carrying capacity, biotic succession and the energy cycle and apply them to the region. Once they had mastered these ideas, they could then be asked to propose alternative plans for the management of a particular area which they had grown to know during the summer. Finally, at the end of the summer tests would be administered to find out how well enrollees had grasped the underlying concepts. These uniform tests would then give Congress and administrators an overview of the educational component of the program.

Responsibility for development of the tests and their administration was given to Dr. Beverly Driver and the ISR research team. The first environmental awareness test had been worked out in only a month during the late spring of 1971, when the objectives of the YCC were not yet entirely clear.[32] For the 1972 season, much more time was available for preparation, and a more comprehensive exam was prepared, submitted to Washington personnel, revised, and only printed after a preliminary run on students. Simultaneously, Paul Yambert and Jerry Gafrey of the University of Southern Illinois were contracted to prepare an environmental source book, with sufficient information in it to be the basis for a summer long curriculum.

Each of these contractors had to contend with the conflict between the needs of the local camps and the need of the Washington Office to measure each component of the YCC for Congress. The learning appropriate to the many local sites could not easily be standardized in a single testing instrument. Nevertheless, a uniform test had to be developed if the YCC were to bring its accomplishments to Congress.

In actual visits to the field, furthermore, Driver found that this need for a general set of statistics had also generated some competition between camps in a few regions. The tests had not been designed to compare camps, however, and indeed they necessarily only covered a general set of environmental concepts, some more appropriate to the actual experience of enrollees in one camp than those of another. While some competition can be a healthy stimulus to learning, Driver found that in extreme cases the exam practice questions were posted on mirrors in the bathrooms, which obviously defeated the original YCC concept of learning through doing. To eliminate this kind of behavior proved difficult, but in the following years a new set of exams were developed making camp comparisons more difficult at the regional level, although they were still possible in Washington administrative offices.

At the other extreme, a few YCC camps did not take the environmental awareness component seriously enough in the first year. As McElroy recalled,[33] Camp Directors' interest and skill in this area varied, and the use of the environmental handbook was not obligatory. Regional personnel sometimes regarded the YCC as a work program only. They were not trained educators, and their goals were the completion of badly needed projects. As a result, the task of education during the first year often fell almost entirely upon the environmental awareness resource

person at each camp, usually a teacher from a local school. While these teachers were hampered by their status as outsiders, they did have the support of the Washington offices and the respect of the students. In addition, the environmental learning tests were mandatory at all camps. When these factors --student interest, teacher prestige, and pressure from the Washington office-- combined, they generally struck a balance in favor of environmental learning. After the first summer, regional administrative personnel were more enthusiastic about this component of the program, because they had seen that education served as an incentive for the work projects. Not surprisingly, enrollees would work harder for something they understood. Moreover, once back in their communities, enrollees began to write letters to their Congressmen and to reply to editorials in their local newspapers that dealt with environmental matters. In their high schools they formed clubs dealing with the environment. In short, local administrators found that they had an attentive and supportive audience for their concerns in the community.

When the Washington offices of the YCC determined to focus on improving the environmental education component during the second summer, the people on the ground level were prepared and enthusiastic. In the second and subsequent years, test results consistently exceeded those of the first summer. In 1972, enrollees learned the equivalent of a full year of high school science, as the following chart illustrates.[34]

PERCENTILE SCORES ON ENVIRONMENTAL KNOWLEDGE QUESTIONS
FOR FIRST AND SECOND TIME TESTS, 1972 YCC

| | First time | Second time | Gain |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sex | | | |
| Boys | 59.5 | 64.1 | 4.6 |
| Girls | 59.2 | 66.6 | 7.4 |
| Grade | | | |
| 9th | 50.6 | 54.6 | 4.0 |
| 10th | 58.5 | 64.3 | 5.8 |
| 11th | 62.3 | 68.9 | 6.6 |
| 12th | 67.2 | 73.7 | 6.5 |
| Science Background | 62.4 | 67.8 | 5.4 |
| No Science | 49.5 | 53.6 | 4.1 |

Regardless of age, sex, or background in science courses, enrollees advanced significantly during the two months. Most attained the level of the class ahead of them in school, some surpassed it. And from an administrative point of view, these developments could be measured. Even though the test had been revised betwen 1971 and 1972, a general comparison was possible. The Michigan group determined that "it is our general impression that the gain in knowledge was two or three times greater in 1972 than it was in 1971."[35] They also found, not surprisingly, that those who liked the program the most were also liable to learn more.

While the Forest Service originally brought the Institute for Social Research into the YCC, the Department of the Interior made a significant contribution to the program in the form of a uniform, computerized payroll system. During the first year, the Forest Service and the Department of the Interior had employed separate payroll systems. In the Forest Service a manual payroll was used, with checks made available to non-resident enrollees every two weeks, while at resident camps small

sums could be withdrawn for spending money during the summer, with a single check paying the balance due to each enrollee at the end of the summer. The Department of the Interior, in contrast, created a single system in the first year of operation. Under the direction of John Stasko, who drew upon an accounting background and experience in the Air Force, Interior developed a computerized payroll which saved costs and provided a wealth of statistical data.[36] Using the Bureau of Reclamation's Administrative Service Center in Salt Lake City, both the Interior's central office and its individual camps were provided with bi-weekly statements indicating all expenditures, by category. A separate staff payroll was developed in Denver, using the same computer. This budgeting system was far more efficient than any that could have been devised to work through the bureaus of the Interior, since collectively they were a maze of jurisdictions which overlapped but did not interlock. The centralized system minimized confusion, and also provided rapid access to information, identifying demographic features of each camp and of the YCC as a whole. This information, in turn, became the basis for much of the annual reports to the President and the Congress.

The Forest Service quickly recognized the advantages of this system in comparison to laboriously culling out data from regional reports. Furthermore, both Departments thought it advisable to pay all enrollees on a bi-weekly basis. The advantage of periodic incentives was obvious, yet without a central, computerized system, it would be difficult to make so many payments in a cost-effective manner. In exchange for this service, the Forest Service paid Interior a small fee based on the number of persons processed.

At the same time that these reforms were being devised and implemented, legislative action continued on the proposal to expand and make permanent the YCC at a level of $150,000,000. Senator Jackson's bill was reported out of committee on May 18, 1972, with no major changes, and passed the Senate five days later. The new bill proposed "the establishment of a new pilot progrm of Federal support to States for the administration of Youth Conservation Corps programs on State lands," and also would "make available for off-season use by local educational institutions Youth Conservation Corps facilities."[37]

Both of these ideas were also contained in Lloyd Meeds' H.R. 10456 and a number of related bills introduced by Marvin Esch and other House members. Hearings began the day after the bill passed the Senate. Meeds succinctly summarized them before they started:

> The Youth Conservation Corps has been such a success that most of the people we will be hearing today and tomorrow will be speaking in favor of the program. We will be hearing Administration witnesses today who will have to follow, I am afraid, the White House line and oppose the expansion of the YCC. Since these Administration representatives were in great part reponsible for the success of the program, I wish they could come right out and say what they really think, but I understand the politicial realities of the situation.[38]

Indeed, Aker and Lake who both testified that day did wish to see the YCC expand and had been actively working toward that end. Since Congressman Meeds and Esch obviously knew their true feelings, it was only necessary to extend the questioning long enough to exhaust all the statements and responses which had been prepared under the direction of OMB. At that point, the many evidences of program success could be elicited and made a part of the record.

As in the hearings of the previous fall, the principal objection raised by the Administration spokesmen was the need to test the YCC further before committing large sums to expansion. However, the extensive charts and statistics presented by the same spokesmen undercut this "defense," as did the tesimony of Rex Waite, the Director of Manpower Planning from Arizona. Representing the States' desire for a larger YCC, Waite said that in his state more than 1,000 youths applied for the 50 openings in its two camps. He called for the creation of a YCC program with 3,000 enrollees in Arizona, an idea endorsed by the State Governor and the mayors of every major city. Arizona alone could use a program larger than that which had existed for the entire United States in the previous year.[39]

The second day of hearings opened with strongly supportive testimony from former YCC enrollees and staff members. It closed with the remarks of Dr. Beverly Driver of the University of Michigan, who was in favor of slow, incremental growth in the program, but saw no reason why it should stop even at the level of 120,000 youth. "Personally, I would like to see every youth in the country in a YCC program," he concluded, adding that he was pleased with the friendly manner with which the Forest Service and Interior had received criticisms of the first year's program.[40]

Driver's testimony closed the hearings, but not the written record. For after his remarks, Representative Meeds inserted the entire 300 page text of Youth and Environment: An Evaluation of the 1971 Youth Conservation Corps, which Driver, Marans, and Scott had prepared as the official report for the YCC. Meeds had found Driver's grasp of the YCC's activities to be thorough and impressive, and he wished to make the report easily available to his colleagues.[41]

The Michigan report was far longer and more detailed than the annual report of the YCC itself, which was prepared that spring by Peter Mowitt, Wayne Bell, and Patrick Felker. Their work was subject to scrutiny: the Office of Management and Budget required revisions in the text that neutralized some positive statements about the program's accomplishment. But as Mowitt recalled, the OMB was also impressed by the Michigan study. "When we sent the '72 Annual Report to OMB for clearance, we also sent the Michigan report as backup. When it was returned to us, I found an internal OMB transmittal note which said, in part, 'We can't argue with this.'"[42] Although OMB accepted the Michigan report as convincing evidence, however, it denied funding to conduct a follow-up study of the enrollees and their parents, which had been designed by Interior staff.

Nevertheless, a great deal of information had been gathered about the fledgling program. There was little dissent when the House members of the Select Labor Sub-Committee proceeded to mark-up H.R. 10456 on September 6. At the meeting Representative Esch emphasized that the testimony of both Agriculture and Interior personnel had been outstanding, and further stated that the YCC program was one of the best the Committee had observed.[43] Likewise, Meeds later recalled that although this was a time when partisan feeling ran high, there were no arguments about the YCC, which had achieved broad bi-partisan support.[44]

Esch's support was particularly important, since he was the ranking Republican on the Committee. He held a number of meetings with staff members in both the White House and the Office of Management and Budget. Seven years later he recalled the reasons for his strong support of the measure: "We needed to give young people experience in the natural world, to grow emotionally, and to develop greater environmental understanding.

Secondly, the YCC sought to maximize the use of rangers and other already existing personnel. It was a good example of an overlay program, which used existing capabilities. It succeeded from the start, because it did not become costly to administer."[45] In line with many other Republicans, Esch wished to decentralize government and return funds to the states whenever possible. He particularly supported the idea of the State Grants program which would be implemented in H.R. 10456.

Even with Esch's support, however, the House proved more conservative than the Senate. It introduced revisions which gave the program only one more year of life, and granted it $30,000,000 for 1973 and double that amount the following year. These levels of expenditure were similar to those which the administrators of the YCC felt were feasible without over-extending the program in a crash expansion. Of more concern than the funding levels was the House's failure to make the YCC permanent. It was an election year, however, and when the House passed its version in September it was becoming late for conferences. The Senate therefore gave in to the House rather than risk the death of the bill through further delays. Jackson declared he would introduce the permanent legislation again in the following session. In the meantime, he knew that, practically speaking, it would be difficult to expand the YCC beyond the $30,000,000 level in one year in any case.[46]

The bill's passage also thrust the issue of the YCC at the Nixon Administration immediately before the election. There, internally, considerable debate arose over whether or not to veto it. Esch again contacted OMB to stress its environmental and educational advantages. Aker and Lake both supplied their superiors with ample information demonstrating the YCC's cost effectiveness and educational value. But

until the end the issue remained so unclear that they had to prepare two different reports that might be sent to Casper Weinberger, then director of OMB. One called for a veto, declaring the legislation premature. The other recommended signing the bill, stressing the new participation of state governments and the strong public support for the program. On October 18 the favorable report went to OMB; ten days later, and but a week before the election, President Nixon signed the bill into law (P.L. 92-597).[47]

The victory was only apparent, however. After Nixon defeated George McGovern in the Presidental race, the Republican Administration clamped down on the YCC appropriations bill. While on November 15 both administering Departments requested that their regional representatives report capabilities should the program double to $7,000,000 or increase to $21,000,000, in the following weeks OMB succeeded in freezing the YCC at its original Pilot Program funding level of $3,500,000. The mandated, joint program with the States did not begin, although in late December the program had been announced to them. The third year would be virtually identical to the second, while under the provisions of P.L. 92 - 597 in the fourth year the program was due to expire.

As YCC administrators recall, it was a frustrating time, but made hopeful by the return of Brademas, Esch and Meeds to the House. In the aftermath of the Nixon reelection, however, it remained uncertain whether a permanent program which did not pass the Ninety-Second Congress could be pushed through its successor.

## Chapter Three

## Expansion to a Permanent Institution

While the size of the YCC remained frozen during its third year, further reforms were introduced to refine the pilot program. For example, regional offices were asked to provide detailed information about their more successful environmental programs. Lake wrote to the Regional Foresters that "Some of these good program packages could serve as models for use by other YCC camps looking for good environmental education ideas."[1]

By the end of January, 1973, these model curricula had been received and were used as the basis for an improved source book. There were obvious differences between the educational achievements of different camps and regions. In the Forest Service, Regions 2 and 4 made double the improvement of Region 6. In the Department of the Interior quite modest gains in environmental knowledge for enrollees in the National Park Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs sharply contrasted with the good performance of the Bureau of Land Management.[2] Such evidence pointed to a continuing need to monitor local activity and to suggest improvements from the national level. A review showed that camps using the environmental source book, simulation games, and environmental impact studies (done by enrollees), made the greatest gains. Likewise, the University of Michigan investigators found that learning was greater in camps which were able to combine work and environmental education.[3]

A second Michigan finding also had important implications. Those camps which actively involved enrollees in planning recreation and work projects accomplished more, and therefore were more cost effective.[4]

In the Forest Service, the five camps with the highest scores on the Michigan "Participation Index" averaged $1,055 worth of work accomplished per youth slot; the six camps with the lowest scores averaged only $603.[5] Even taking into account the differences between the kinds of work projects available, it is obvious that the style of management at the local level could have a great impact on the cost-effectiveness of the program. In short, while the second year had returned 7¢ more for each dollar invested than the first year program, further improvements were obviously still possible. Better staff selection and training would ensure that enrollees were involved in decision making, particularly regarding work projects. In turn, these decisions would stimulate development of environmental knowledge, as enrollees came to understand the choices confronting them. With greater integration of all aspects of a camp, more learning and more work could be accomplished.

While these areas -- education and work accomplishment -- promised to be amenable to rapid improvement, another problem more endemic in American society also challenged the YCC. Between 1971 and 1972 minorities had increased by only 1% in the program as a whole, while in the Forest Service the number had declined by 2%.[6] Since in the spring of 1972 the Congressional Black Caucus had expressed concern the YCC did not include enough minorities in its composition, this problem was one which had to be addressed quickly and effectively.[7] Furthermore, the OMB had instructed both Lake and Aker to stress the recruitment and selection of low income enrollees. Lake wrote to his Regional Foresters "we would encourage you to at least recruit more youths in the below $5,000 family range than youths in the over $15,000 family income level."[8] If the Youth Conservation Corps was not required by law to be

designed for Blacks, Indians and poor people, it could nevertheless make greater efforts to include them than the more affluent, white teenagers who tended to apply to the program without encouragement.

However, once minorities were in YCC Camps the problem of racism itself would not necessarily be overcome. While the University of Michigan studies showed that youth did become more sensitive to those of other income levels and ethnic groups as a result of their summer's experience, their studies also showed a lower level of satisfaction among Blacks and American Indians. While 86% of all white enrollees liked or really liked the YCC experience, but 67% of the Black enrollees concurred, with slightly higher ratings for the program from Hispanics and American Indians. At the other end of the scale, these three minorities showed more negative responses and refusals to respond to the question.[9] Despite efforts to improve the camp experience for these minority teenagers, however, little progress was made in 1973, althougn in the area of recruitment a full 25% of the enrollees were Black, Indian, and Hispanic. To deal further with the problem, in 1974, the University of Michigan would be asked to perform a special survey to determine the causes of minority dissatisfaction and suggest possible remedies.[10]

The 1972 camps had succeeded in raising the level of female participation in the YCC to a level of 41%, up from 34% the previous year. In 1973 the goal of full parity, was achieved, as 48% of all enrollees were female.[11] This figure was almost identical to the national distribution of females among 15 to 19 year olds, which was 49%. Interestingly, as the level of female participation increased so did the cost/benefit ratio for the dollars invested in the YCC. This

correlation was not accidental, as many field reports testified to the hard, steady work of the young women, who often challenged their male counterparts to work harder. All work crews were fully integrated; no tasks were assigned to one sex. The results speak for themselves:[12]

| YEAR | PERCENT FEMALE | COST/BENEFIT RATIO |
|---|---|---|
| 1971 | 34% | .64 |
| 1972 | 41% | .71 |
| 1973 | 48% | .89 |

Of course female participation alone does not account for all of the improvement in the cost/benefit ratio. Additionally, Camp Directors had learned how to organize work projects more effectively, and the youth were more often engaged in planning them.

The 1973 figures also revealed considerable differences between the various kinds of camps. It became obvious that the five day residential camps were by far the most efficient, yielding a cost/benefit ratio of 1.33, while seven day residential camps of short duration were the least efficient with a ratio of .74. However, all categories of camps exceeded the average of the previous year.[13]

The environmental education component had also improved in 1973, as measured by the University of Michigan and by the responses of the youth themselves. And an astounding 99% of all youth found the YCC experience worthwhile, while 95% liked or really liked the program. Only 2.1% failed to complete the program, and many of these left for reasons unrelated to it, such as the start of football practice, sickness or family problems.[14] In short, by the end of the 1973 season, the pilot

program had done all that could reasonably be expected of it, with little room left for improvement that had not already been planned for 1974.

It remained to convince the administration of the program's value, so that it would allow the YCC to expand and to begin joint programs with the states, which were already mandated but as yet unfunded. Vigorous Congressional action to make the YCC program permanent began in the spring of 1973, as Senators Jackson and Magnuson introduced S-1871, a bill virtually the same as S-2454 in its original form during the previous session.[15] While in previous years Senate efforts had always preceded action in the House by several months, this time Congressman Meeds introduced companion legislation just two weeks later, on June 6, in the form of four bills with 61 co-sponsors (H.R. 8433, 8434, 8435, 9465)[16]

The OMB responded quickly to this legislative effort with a position paper sent to both Departments. Here it stated: "the validity of involving the Federal Government in a program of this sort which may in some respects not amount to much more than a summer camp experience for predominantly middle-class teenagers is questionable." It then suggested that six areas needed to be looked at in more detail: (1) did YCC participants perform needed work? (2) could the Youth Conservation Corps be incorporated into a "regular work program"? (3) what were the long term effects on participants? (4) "Identification of objective approaches to education which would assure avoidance of indoctrination." (5) "Determination of the most cost effective kind, size, and length of camp." and finally, (6) "Determination of the salary required to get participation." Because of these alleged unknowns, the OMB concluded that Interior and Forest Service testimony, "should be generally

negative, questioning the philosophical basis for the program in a rather gentle way but emphasizing that the answers to many basic questions concerning the productivity of the program are not available."[17]

Hoping not to take this line at the hearings, Lake and Aker drafted a joint response arguing that most of these six points should not be used "in legislative reports or testimony in order to prevent casting serious doubts upon the credibility of Administration witnesses."[18] The YCC was not a middle class summer camp but a carefully selected cross section of youth representative of American society. It could not be incorporated into "a regular work program," since it was an educational program, and mandated as such by law. It was a matter of Congressional record that the YCC projects were necessary environmental work, of great utility in preserving the natural environment. The notion that this program was somehow involved in "indoctrination" was perhaps in theory a valid concern, but no evidence or complaints on these lines had been received in the three years of the program's operation. No newspapers or magazines had accused the YCC of "indoctrination". Similarly, most of the OMB's suggested criticisms were contrary to demographic and testing data developed independently of program administrators by the University of Michigan. A few matters could be brought to Congressional attention without contradicting previous testimony and published reports, however, and Lake and Aker offered to substitute the following far milder suggestions for Congress: (1) that the YCC should continue experimenting with different kinds of camps for a while longer, (2) that it was necessary to develop longitudinal studies of the effect of the YCC on participants, (3) that because the State Grants Program had not yet been implemented it would be premature to make it permanent, and (4) that

development would proceed more smoothly if taken in smaller increments.[19] These "criticisms" could not stand up under cross examination. A great deal of experimentation had already been done on camp size, for example, while the longitudinal study had been prohibited two years earlier by the OMB. The third and fourth "criticisms" would not preclude making the Federal program permanent, only slow its growth.

At the same time Lake and Aker communicated with their respective administrations, writing jointly to their superiors:

> We believe that the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture should encourage the Administration to take a positive posture on the subject of permanency while retaining a wait and see attitude with regard to the permanency of the State Grant portion of the program. We believe that a reasonable compromise level of funding can be achieved at around $60 to 75 million and that a three year pilot grant program [for the State program] would be acceptable to the Congress.[20]

It should be understood that this statement represented only a bargaining position, as these lower level administrators sought to maneuver. At the same time they knew that the potential size of the program could be much larger. For example, Peter Mowitt and Governor Aker in the Department of the Interior prepared a detailed 26 page report, projecting YCC enrollment levels ranging from 1,500 to 210,000, at a cost from 1.75 to 300 million dollars. It also examined the possibility of a permanent Civilian Conservation Program to be operated on a year-round basis. This would be a work/education program on lands administered by the two Departments, but it would serve a slightly older constituency, up to the age of 24. Its objectives "would be to provide employment for unemployed or underemployed young men and women, including war veterans, in the development and maintenance of the natural resources of the Nation, and to provide youth with an opportunity to understand,

and have a part in planning and assisting in the improvement of the Nation's natural resources and environment."[21] This idea became the basis for the Young Adult Conservation Corps, which was also being considered in the Forest Service at this time.

Such ideas of development and expansion ultimately came from Congress. Lloyd Meeds recalled that at this time he and Senator Jackson hoped the YCC would really take off:

> If we'd had our way, the YCC would have grown to 1,500,000 people. The sky was our limit. The 150,000 figure in the legislation was just the beginning. We envisioned the YCC as the best single answer to the problems of crime, youth unemployment, improving the environment, and healing the divisions in American society.[22]

When Senate hearings began in late July, on S.1871, A Bill to Amend the Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1972, the proceedings had an almost ritual quality about them. As on the preceding occasions, administration spokesmen praised the success of the pilot program, but recommended against enactment of the legislation. Aker and Lake had had little success in changing the specific objections proposed by OMB, which were repeated in the Departmental Reports submitted to the Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. As in the past, many YCC former enrollees were present, and their testimony was clearly of more interest than that of administrators denied the right to speak freely. Their most eloquent and telling evidence could be found in the lists of unfinanced, needed conservation work, amounting to 260,000 man years in the Forest Service alone.[23] As in the past, no one disputed the success of the program, and for the first time President Nixon's Administration had permitted an expansion of the budget for the following year, allocating $10 million. While this was far less than the $60 million dollars called for in

P.L. 92-567, it indicated that the Administration might finally allow the YCC to increase gradually toward its potential. In part the Administration was yielding to the powerful support for the YCC in the Senate, where S.1871 passed unanimously, again, on October 8.[24]

The House hearings later that month also had a deja-vu quality, as the Administration employed the arguments of previous years again, while Meeds countered with more testimony from YCC enrollees. These hearings only lasted two hours and fifteen minutes. The real battle had already occurred behind the scenes when the Office of Management and Budget submitted instructions to the Administrators in the Forest Service and Interior, specifying how to spend the $10 million about to be allocated to them for Federal Year 1974.[25] Several of these constraints were contrary to the text of P.L. 92-597; all were contrary to Congressional intent. First, OMB ordered that at least 50% of the enrollees come from low income families, and further stated that the primary purpose of the YCC was to provide meaningful work. However, the law was quite specific in mandating the selection of a representative cross section of all parts of American society, and members of Congress had continually stressed that it was not to be another anti-poverty program, targeted at minorities and poor people. Its objectives rather were to accomplish conservation work on public lands, to provide employment to youth from all social, economic and racial backgrounds, and to develop understanding and appreciation of the environment. Furthermore, as Aker and Lake noted, the imposition of a quota system was contrary to another Presidential directive.

The second OMB constraint was equally out of keeping with P.L. 92-597, stating that pay should only be provided to enrollees from

low income families. Aker recalls his unhappiness with this provision, which would have broken the harmony of each YCC camp. As Lake also noted, "you can't ask one kid to work for free and pay the fellow next to him. They just won't understand that."[26] While the logic of the OMB's position rested upon the idea of increasing cost-effectiveness, both legal constraints and personnel considerations militated against their suggested changes. The third OMB proposal would have required that the YCC emphasize non-residential, short term camps. This idea, again appeared to be based upon a desire for cost reductions. In this case, however, Lake, Aker, and other administrators were successful in persuading the OMB of the economic advantages of the longer term, five day residential camps. These had proven to be the most effective of all YCC camps, returning more than 100% of each dollar spent upon them. After hearing the administrative arguments against these first three proposals, the OMB dropped all three.

In a fourth area, however, the OMB and the YCC compromised. The new State Grants Program required a set of guidelines to specify the manner in which funds would be disbursed to participating states. While the law clearly stated that 30% of all YCC appropriations should be used for the State YCC Camps, it did not specify how to determine the amounts to be given to each state. OMB suggested that no more than fifty percent of the cost of a grant project be federally financed. Department administrators agreed to this ruling since it did not violate the Congressional mandate that no more than eighty percent of the funds should come from the Federal government. Furthermore, this constraint would enable the YCC to stretch limited funding to create a larger number of camps. OMB also wanted, however, to restrict each State to only one

camp, with no more than 100 enrollees, an idea which it finally gave up as part of the compromise.[27]

While Departmental administrators overcame this attempt to redirect the emphasis of the program, the entire incident pointed to the continuing reluctance of the White House to support the YCC as an untargeted program. However, because the President soon was preoccupied with the Watergate crisis, his Administration could devote far less attention to the redesign of such programs in 1974 than in 1973.

During the rest of the fall in 1973, the chief administrative problem facing the Forest Service and Interior was development of a comprehensive set of regulations for the new State Grant program. By this time, as McElroy put it, the Federal YCC practically took care of itself, since all procedures for its implementation were thoroughly familiar.[28] Doubling the size of that program from $3.5 million to $7 million proceeded smoothly, partly because in previous years both agencies had repeatedly prepared for possible expansion. The State Grants, however, would require that this same knowledge be transferred to as many as fifty other bureaucracies so that they could work in harmony with the Federal Government.

In anticipation of this development, plans had already begun to standardize recruitment procedures for all parts of the YCC. Each of the states was treated as a separate administrative district, for this purpose alone, and three persons was selected in each to oversee recruitment and enrollee selection. One person represented the individual State and one each came from the Forest Service and the Department of the Interior. No new positions were added to either administration, however, as this was simply added to other duties of existing personnel.

To streamline the work of recruitment in each state, a new system would be put into place after the YCC became a permanent program. Since this system was both ingenious and efficient, it will be briefly described here, although strictly speaking it falls outside of the pilot program years. The system later employed a computer to make a random selection of the enrollees. While recruitment would still take place at the local level, primarily through the high schools and suitable local organizations, the applicant pool for the whole State would be drawn upon randomly, using zip codes to divide up the pool into smaller units.[29] Since zip codes refer to every locality, minority participation could be assured without using quotas. Also, in such a system, attempts to misuse the selection process could be thwarted. Although some Camp Directors predicted a falling off in the quality of the enrollees because they would be selected anomymously, this fear did not materialize in the following years, although a slightly higher dropout rate did perhaps stem from the acceptance of applicants who were not as well informed about the YCC as they would have been under the old, more personalized system.[30] The new, computer-based mode of operation, developed by Anderson and Mowitt in 1975, was essential for the efficient administration of an expanding YCC.

While states eventually would not have to concern themselves with recruitment, many other areas remained to be worked out. The Forest Service, characteristically, wished to keep the regulations short and general, compared to the Department of the Interior. Wayne Bell worked along these lines, so as to encourage the states to apply and to minimize the role of the Federal bureaucracy. His side eventually won this dispute, as a quite detailed set of regulations developed by the

Department of the Interior was finally rejected. The resulting regulations contain only eight substantive sections, covering just three pages in the Federal Register.[31] Among the many provisions are the following: State programs were required to represent all eligible youth, to be equally open to both sexes, and to be run in accord with Federal wage, safety and Civil Rights laws. Their record-keeping had to conform to the Federal YCC guidelines to facilitate National record-keeping and review. Federal administrators retained the right to suspend grants if the grantee failed to conform to regulations, and the right to inspect program conduct periodically. Of course, the most powerful form of control was the right of the Federal Government to turn down poor quality grant applications.

The process of applying for grants was focused at the state level, with funds allocated according to the "population of the State in relation to the total population of the United States, and the number of Federal YCC slots programmed for youth in the state."[32] Individual grants were to be awarded within each state using the same criteria employed in the Federal YCC Camps: cost effectiveness, the quality of the proposed environmental projects, and the capability to carry out the standard YCC guidelines.

The distribution of grant funds intentionally favored the Eastern states with large populations such as Pennsylvania and New York which had been unable to participate fully in the original pilot program because they had few Federal lands. The redress of this imbalance had been the particular interest of Marvin Esch and Ella Grasso, as well as most members of Congress from the Northeast.[33] Nevertheless, during the creation of the regulations, some members of both the Forest Service and

the Interior had sought to create a formula which would grant YCC funds to the states solely on the basis of the amount of Federal land in a given state. Had this notion been adopted, which it was not due to the efforts of Peter Mowitt and Wayne Bell, the West would have continued to receive disproportionate shares of YCC funding.

In the first year, 1974, 45 states participated in the program, enrolling almost 4,000 youth, who worked on projects similar to those of previous YCC campers. They participated in timber, range and wildlife management, reforestation, visitor services, water and soil conservation efforts, camp trail construction, and maintenance of recreation areas. In general, the record of the states matched that of the Federal YCC in its beginnings. Again more men participated than women, and the cost/benefit ratio was .66, almost precisely what the first Federal camps had achieved. Environmental learning, however, was probably superior to the 1971 Federal camps, since the states had full access to the environmental education source books, simulation games and other materials which the Federal agencies had already developed.[34] With the implementation of the State Grants Program the YCC idea had finally taken root across the United States in enough working institutions to become widely known. The combined program produced more than $9.5 million worth of environmental projects in 1974 alone, a figure that would grow to $14 million the following year and increase thereafter in accord with growing appropriations. By the end of the decade, despite the costs of expansion, which would not recur in future years, the YCC had produced environmental work with a total value of $227.5 million, at a cost of $298.7 million.[35] The procedures of recruitment and the many other aspects of administration remained relatively constant during these

years. What is of primary interest then is not the history of each of the years after 1974 rather the nature of the two administrations which ran the YCC.

By its fourth year, the YCC had been implemented in quite different ways in the two administrative agencies. The two charts can illustrate the differences in hierarchical organization. A comparison of the charts illustrates the relative decentralization of the Forest Service when compared to the Department of the Interior.[36] Within the Forest Service there were five separate levels to the hierarchy. In the Washington Office of Human Resource Programs were but a handful of YCC staff. Below them were the 9 Regional Foresters, who in turn had charge of the Forest Supervisors on the National Forest, who stood above the District Rangers. The Camp Director was employed for only the summer months, about half of the time coming from within the ranks of the Forest Service. Such a hierarchy was not comparable to a military chain of command, as the Washington Office did not seek to oversee day to day operations, relying instead upon evaluations of the end results, which were incorporated into the Regional Foresters' job ratings. Such local autonomy could be granted in part because of the relative simplicity of the entire hierarchy.

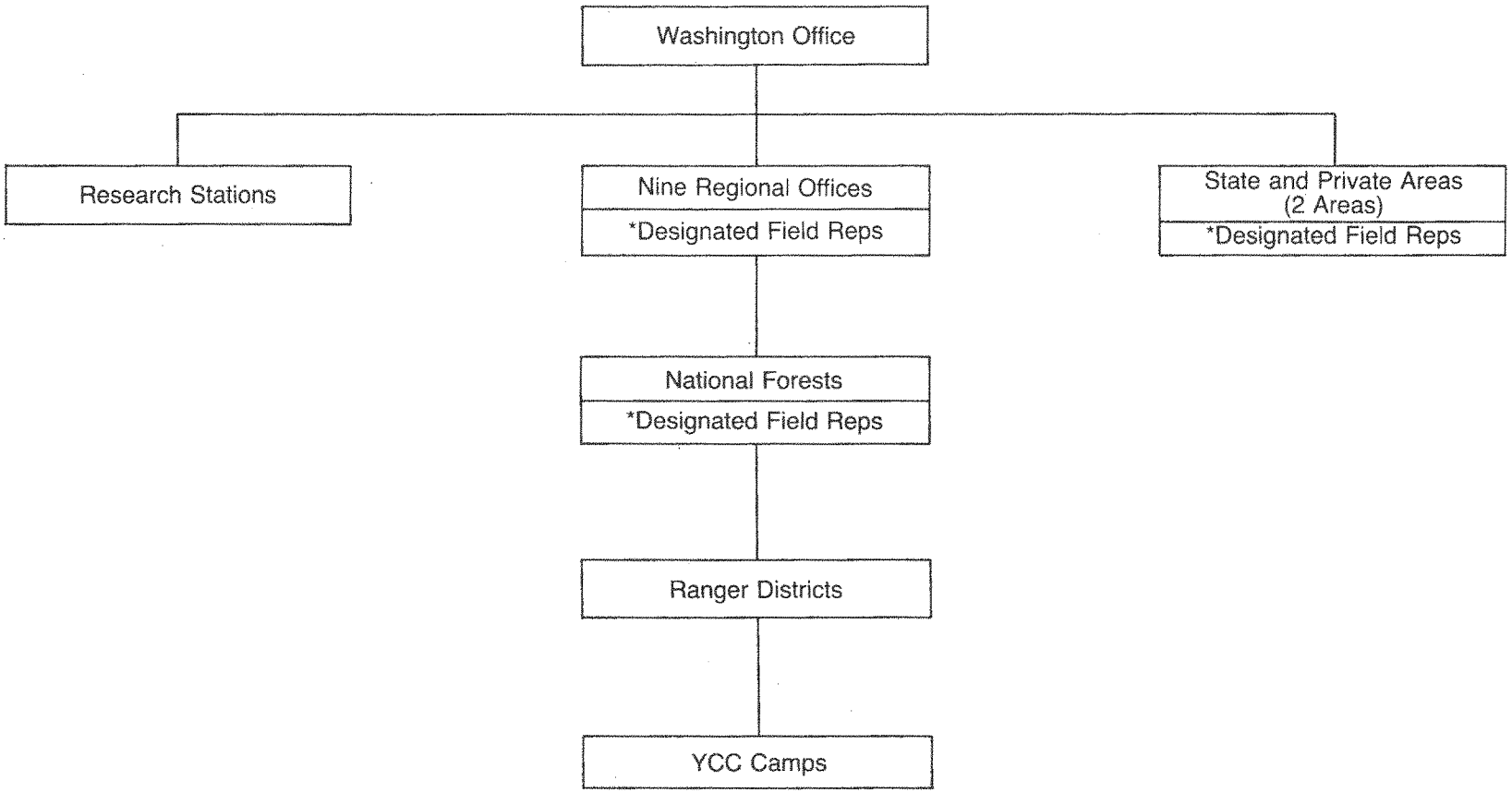
Chart Two illustrates the greater complexity of the situation faced by the Department of the Interior's Office of Youth Programs.[37] Instead of ten clearly defined regional offices, there the YCC faced five different bureaus and the Office of Territories, each with its own regions and each with quite different goals. Two of these not only managed land but also administered legal agreements with ethnic minorities. The National Park Service administered the nation's largest tourist facilities

as well as extensive lands. The other Bureaus of the Interior were also diverse: the Fish and Wildlife Service, Water and Power Resources, the Bureau of Land Management and Indian Affairs. To coordinate this potentially unwieldy group of agencies, a firm set of guidelines had to be worked out at the start.

Beginning in 1978, these were administered from ten Regional Offices which were created for the purpose of managing youth programs, the YCC, and the Young Adult Conservation Corps (after 1975). These regional offices were made directly responsible to the Office of Youth Programs, exercising its authority, for example, in approving contracts with non-profit organizations such as colleges and universities, which might operate YCC camps. The regional offices were responsible for implementing program evaluations and training programs, and also for enforcing the Civil Rights Act in YCC camps.

Despite these administrative differences in the implementation of policy however, the individual camps were very much the same, since they were created along the lines dictated by the supplements to the Memorandum of Understanding. The 40-50 enrollee camp diagrammed on Chart One, bottom, could equally well serve as the diagram of an Interior YCC camp. Indeed, when numerous administrators were each asked the question, "If you were put in a camp without knowing whether it was in your jurisdication or that of the other Department, could you tell the difference?" All replied "No."38

# Chart One: Organizational Chart, Forest Service YCC




Typical Camp: Camp Director

The Camp Director and Work Coordinator may at times be detailed from the Forest Service. Camp staff hired for only 90 days or less.

*State Grant Program Administrators

*Program Staff*

Environmental Ed. Instructor
Group Living Specialist
Work Coordinator

3-5 Group Leaders

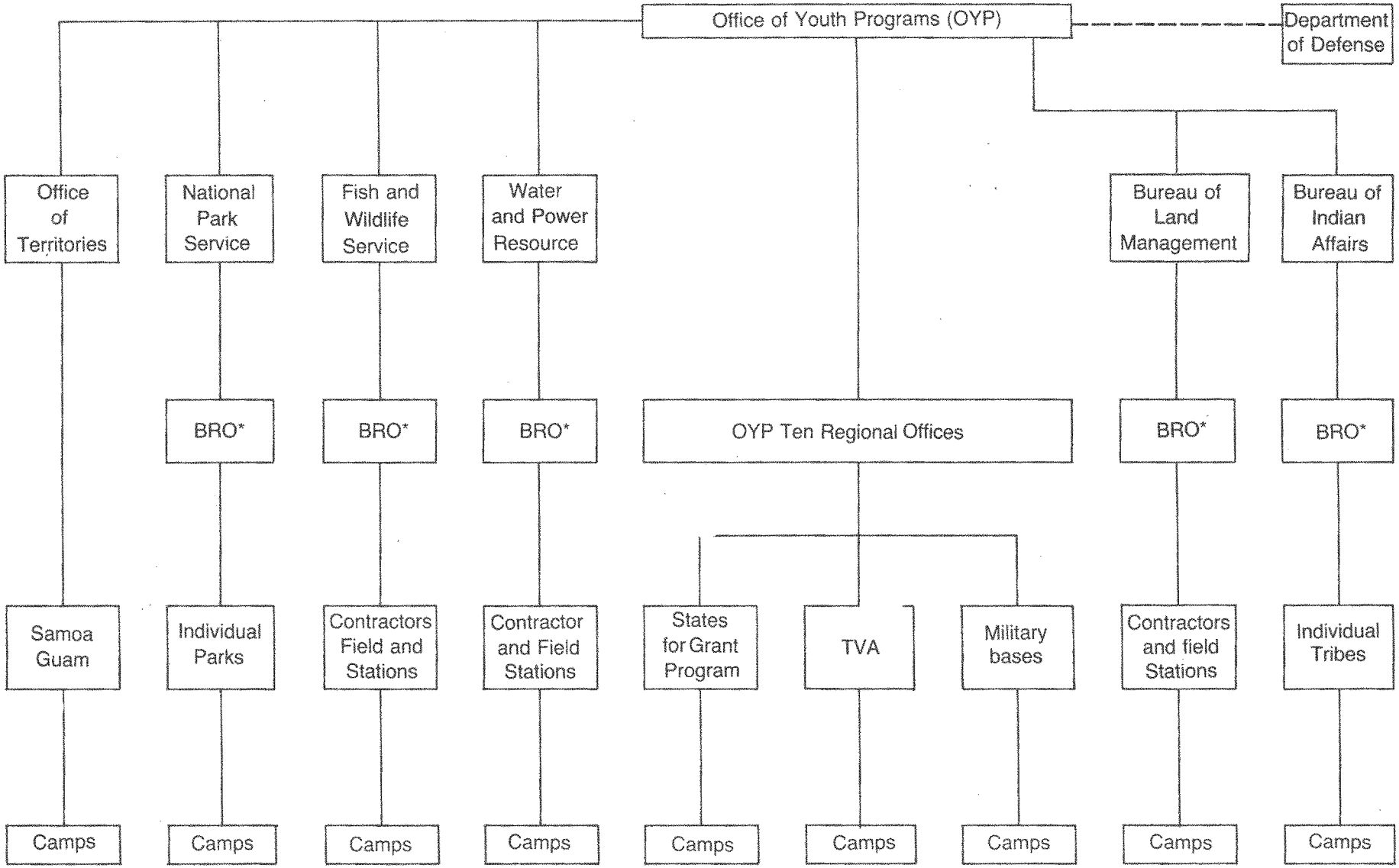
ENROLLEES

*Support*

Administrative Aid
Clerk

Cook(s)

# Chart Two: Organizational Chart, Department of the Interior YCC




*Indicates Bureau Regional Offices

Although the organization and appearance of the individual YCC camps were virtually the same, the method of arriving at this similarity could and did differ as in the distribution of functions in each Department through the course of a year. The Forest Service typically began its budget operations about a month earlier than the Department of the Interior, sending out a gross figure and clearly defined Output Targets to each region in December. The detailed budget is then developed at the regional level, along with other important determinations, particularly site selection. However, the bulk of the tasks necessary to make any camp a success were left entirely in the hands of District Rangers, including the hiring of staff, procurement, contracting, planning work projects, site preparation, and recruiting potential enrollees.[39] While these matters were eventually reported to the Regions, they were not related back to the Washington Office until the end of the summer, with the obvious exception of indicating what sites were selected and ready for use. Camp Directors were given similar autonomy in the daily operations of the camps, so long as they provided 10 hours of environmental education during each week and adhered to the guidelines first worked out in the supplement to the Memorandum of Understanding and then embodied in the Forest Service's YCC Handbook. To carry out its provisions, each Camp Director had a budget arrived at by the simple expedient of multiplying the number of enrollees under his charge by a fixed dollar amount, plus funds for opening and closing the camp. Approval for travel, for example, did not have to be secured from higher administrative levels.

In contrast, the Department of the Interior administered its half of the YCC through a centralized system which reigned in and closely supervised the activities of each camp. Unlike the Forest Service, Interior

reviewed and approved the budget of each camp, and monitored all expenditures, so that any unused funds remained in hands of the Washington Office. To do this, the Administrative Services Center was called upon to play a role far more important than in the Forest Service where it served only to disburse payroll checks. Through it, Interior personnel received reports on all camps every two weeks, handled all purchases, approved travel plans, and kept a record of work projects accomplished.[40] The day to day activities of the Camp Directors were more observable in such a system. In addition, all Camp Directors were required to attend three days of workshops prior to the start of the summer. During this time, they would plan their summer activities, develop a combined program of work, education, recreation, and entertainment, and receive advice from Washington staff. This centralized administrative control was embodied in a YCC Handbook considerably longer than that published by the Forest Service, which in contrast took pride in keeping their handbook short.

Each Department believed its own system superior, yet each also achieved virtually the same results, despite the radical administrative differences. For example, in the fourth year, enrollment statistics were virtually identical.[41]

ENROLLMENT STATISTICS, 1974

| | Forest Service | Interior |
|---|---|---|
| Dropout rate | 3.61 | 3.76 |
| Percent non-white enrollees | 17.08 | 18.25 |
| Percent female enrollees | 48.59 | 48.87 |
| Family income levels: | | |
| Below 5,000 | 9.10 | 7.94 |
| 5,000 - 10,000 | 28.81 | 29.23 |
| 10,000 - 15,000 | 35.82 | 35.40 |
| 15,000 - | 23.55 | 25.06 |
| Not reported | 2.73 | 2.37 |

Likewise, despite the different methods of budgeting, expenditures were virtually the same.

COMPARATIVE EXPENDITURES, PER ENROLLEE, 1974

| | Forest Service | Interior |
|---|---|---|
| non-resident | $1128.14 | $1125.81 |
| resident | $1639.29 | $1354.76 |

The costs per non-resident enrollee are obviously virtually identical. The discrepancy in the figures for resident enrollees exists because the Forest Service spent $436,000 more on enrollee pay than did the Department of the Interior. The apparent discrepancy does not exist once the enrollee pay has been factored out, yielding cost-per-enrollee figures of $1075.90 for the Forest Service and the quite similar $1015.84 for the Department of the Interior.[42]

As these examples suggest, the principle differences between the YCC camps run by the two administrations were inherent in their locations. Because Interior included the Bureau of Indian Affairs, it had more

Indian enrollees; because the Forest Service is not like the National Park Service, the work projects performed in each varied significantly. Perhaps the most obvious special situation existed in the Samoan Islands, where Interior did not pay enrollees the minimum wage, since to do so would have given them an income larger than that possible for their parents.[43] Given such differences, the uniformity of the overall results are startling. They probably can be explained by the following factors: (1) the many uniformities imposed by the common guidelines of the Memorandum of Understanding and its supplements; (2) the friendly competition and sharing of information between the two agencies; (3) joint recruiting programs in every state; (4) occasional joint training sessions at the regional level; (5) preparation of a single report to the President each year; and (6) the pilot status of the program itself, which served to emphasize cost-effectiveness and interagency cooperation, since all administrators knew the program would be reviewed frequently.

The last of the many reviews during the pilot phase of the program occurred in Bellingham Washington, on August 29, 1974.[44] Fittingly, it took place in Senator Jackson's home State where for the first time testimony from Western YCC staff and enrollees could be taken. The oversight hearing was held before the Select Subcommittee on Labor form the House, chaired by Representative Meeds, accompanied by his Republican colleague Albert Quie of Minnesota. Quie had also been a long time supporter of the YCC. Together they elicited a day of excellent testimony from regional managers and two National level administrators, Wayne Bell from the Office of Manpower Training in the Forest Service and Grover Barham from the National Park Service. For the first time in all the hearings on the YCC, there was no negative testimony.

The battle for a permanent YCC had been all but officially won, as two weeks earlier the House had passed S.1871, revising the spending level down to $60 million.[45] Since the measure had passed by a margin of 361 to 38, there seemed little prospect of a veto. Five days later President Ford signed P.L. 93-408.[46]

Although the new law authorized an appropriation of $60 million, only $13.2 million would be allocated in 1975 and $32 million in 1976, as the uncertainties over appropriations continued each year as before. Indeed, the YCC was the first program involved in a test of the Impoundment Control Act of 1974.[47] But these events are part of another story. Suffice it to say that under the Carter Presidency, the YCC reached, at last, the $60 million funding level first authorized in 1974. It has not yet grown to be the large program which so many administrators, Lloyd Meeds, and most of all Henry Jackson sought, which would enroll hundreds of thousands of idle youth in constructive work during the summers and promote an environmental ethic so badly needed in the present world of energy shortages and overconsumption. The model of the Civilian Conservation Corps has been successfully adapted to the contemporary world; it remains to be seen whether its full potential will be appreciated.

## Conclusion

> We have passed the stage as a nation when we can afford to tolerate the man whose aim it is merely to skin the soil and go on; to skin the country, to take off timber, to exhaust it, and go on; our aim must be by laws promotive of irrigation, by laws securing the wise use in perpetuity of the forests, by laws shaped in every way to promote the permanent interests of the country. Our aim must be to hand over to our children not an impoverished but an improved heritage.[1]
>
> Theodore Roosevelt

When Theodore Roosevelt made these remarks, he had specific actions in mind. Under his Administration, millions of acres of land were made a part of the National Parks and the National Forest System. The CCC later improved and preserved these same lands, ensuring that this heritage would not be carelessly allowed to deteriorate. Between the termination of the CCC during World War II and the creation of the YCC three decades later, however, an enormous backlog of environmental work accumulated. This neglect occured at the same time that America completed the movement from an agrarian to an urbanized nation. When Roosevelt wrote, less than one half of all American lived in large cities. Today, virtually all citizens live in and around cities, and less than five per cent of the work force is engaged in agriculture. In a very real sense, Americans have lost touch with the physical landscape.

The creation of the YCC in 1970 represents a successful attempt to bridge the gap between youth and the natural world. And it does so in a characteristically American way, by insisting that representative proportions of every class, race, and ethnic group be represented in each camp. The Youth Conservation Corps combines two resources common to every civilization. Yet no necessary logic common to all cultures dictates that reforestation and flood control should be done by young

people, who could be encouraged in quite other directions. If it is to prosper, every society must find some activity worthy of the idealism and energy young people possess. For in virtually all socieites one finds that youth will band together in groups, ranging from city gangs who identify a particular part of the world as their turf, to high school athletic teams and the Boy Scouts.[2] The question is not whether youth will form groups, but how they will do it. The YCC therefore is not only a response to the need for environmental education, for protecting our natural resources, and for breaking down the barriers between classes and ethnic groups. The YCC is also a constructive response to the need for social direction and meaning during the formative years of life. Adolescence is not only a passage from childhood to adulthood; it is also the period when an individual acquires a sense of social values and personal worth. The context where this occurs can be crucial to later development.

The YCC established such a context, providing youth with meaningful work. It is meaningful not only because the results can be seen and touched, not only because the work can be given a dollar value at the end of the summer, but most importantly, because the environmental work must be done and because the voluntary participation of every race and class expresses fundamental American values in a practical way.

Since the YCC is still functioning, its complete history will perhaps not be written for another generation. But the years of the pilot program, viewed as a single unit, stand as a period of accomplishment.

# Appendix One:
# The Three YCC Laws

Public Law 91-378
91st Congress, S. 1076
August 13, 1970

# An Act

To establish a pilot program in the Departments of the Interior and Agriculture designated as the Youth Conservation Corps, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

Youth Conservation Corps, Establishment.

POLICY AND PURPOSE

SECTION 1. The Congress finds that the gainful employment during the summer months of American youth, representing all segments of society, in the healthful outdoor atmosphere afforded in the national park system, the national forest system, the national wildlife refuge system, and other public land and water areas administered by the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture creates an opportunity for understanding and appreciation of the Nation's natural environment and heritage. Accordingly, it is the purpose of this Act to further the development and maintenance of the natural resources of the United States by the youth, upon whom will fall the ultimate responsibility for maintaining and managing these resources for the American people.

84 STAT. 794

84 STAT. 795

YOUTH CONSERVATION CORPS

SEC. 2. (a) To carry out the purposes of this Act, there is hereby established in the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture a three-year pilot program designated as the Youth Conservation Corps (hereinafter referred to as the "Corps"). The Corps shall consist of young men and women who are permanent residents of the United States, its territories, or possessions, who have attained age fifteen but have not attained age nineteen, and whom the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture may employ during the summer months without regard to the civil service or classification laws, rules, or regulations, for the purpose of developing, preserving, or maintaining lands and waters of the United States under the jurisdiction of the appropriate Secretary.

Participants.

Summer employment.

(b) The Corps shall be open to youth of both sexes and youth of all social, economic, and racial classifications, with no person being employed as a member of the Corps for a term in excess of ninety days during any single year.

Equal opportunity and employment; term.

SECRETARIAL DUTIES

SEC. 3. (a) The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall:

(1) determine the areas under their administrative jurisdictions which are appropriate for carrying out programs using employees of the Corps;

(2) determine the rates of pay, hours, and other conditions of employment in the Corps: *Provided*, That members of the Corps shall not be deemed to be Federal employees, other than for the purposes of chapter 171 of title 28, United States Code, and chapter 81 of title 5, United States Code;

62 Stat. 982; 80 Stat. 306. 28 USC 2671-2680. 80 Stat. 531; 82 Stat. 98. 5 USC 8101-8193.

(3) provide for such transportation, lodging, subsistence, and other services and equipment as they may deem necessary or appropriate for the needs of members of the Corps in their duties. The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture may contract with any public agency or organization or any private nonprofit agency or organization which has been in existence for at

least five years for the operation of any Youth Conservation Corps project. Whenever economically feasible, existing but unoccupied Federal facilities, including military facilities, shall be utilized for the purposes of the Corps where appropriate and with the approval of the Federal agency involved. To minimize transportation costs Corps members shall be employed on conservation projects as near to their places of residence as is feasible;

Regulations.

(4) promulgate regulations to insure the safety, health, and welfare of the Corps members;

Report to President and Congress.

(5) prepare a report, indicating the most feasible and efficient method for initiating a cost-sharing youth conservation program with State natural resource, conservation, or outdoor recreation agencies, which report shall be submitted to the President not later than one year following enactment of this Act for transmittal to the Congress for review and appropriate action.

83 Stat. 83. 5 USC 3101 note.

(b) The provision of title II of the Revenue and Expenditure Control Act of 1968 (82 Stat. 251, 270) shall not apply to appointments made to the Corps, to temporary supervisory personnel, or to temporary program support staff.

84 STAT. 795

84 STAT. 796

SECRETARIAL REPORTS

Annual report to President and Congress.

SEC. 4. Upon completion of each year's pilot program, the Secretary of the Interior and Secretary of Agriculture shall prepare a joint report detailing the contribution of the program toward achieving the purposes of the Act and providing recommendations. Each report shall be submitted to the President not later than one hundred and eighty days following completion of that year's pilot program. The President shall transmit the report to the Congress for review and appropriate action.

AUTHORIZATION OF FUNDS

SEC. 5. For three years following enactment of this Act, there are hereby authorized to be appropriated amounts not to exceed $3,500,000 annually to be made available to the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out the purposes of this Act.

**Approved August 13, 1970.**

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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORTS: No. 91-915 accompanying H.R. 15361 (Comm. on Education and Labor) and No. 91-1338 (Comm. of Conference).
SENATE REPORT: No. 91-270 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:
Vol. 115 (1969): June 26, considered and passed Senate.
Vol. 116 (1970): June 15, considered and passed House, amended, in lieu of H.R. 15361.
July 30, House agreed to conference report.
Aug. 5, Senate agreed to conference report.

Public Law 92-597
92nd Congress, S. 2454
October 27, 1972

# An Act



To amend the Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1970 (Public Law 91-378, 84 Stat. 794) to expand the Youth Conservation Corps pilot program and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled*, That the Act of August 13, 1970 (84 Stat. 794) is amended to read as follows:

Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1970, amendment. 42 USC prec. 2711 note.

"POLICY AND PURPOSE

"SECTION 1. The Congress finds that the gainful employment during the summer months of American youth, representing all segments of society, in the healthful outdoor atmosphere afforded in the national park system, the national forest system, the national wildlife refuge system, and other public land and water areas of the United States creates an opportunity for understanding and appreciation of the Nation's natural environment and heritage. Accordingly, it is the purpose of this Act to further the development and maintenance of the natural resources of the United States by the youth, upon whom will fall the ultimate responsibility for maintaining and managing these resources for the American people.

"YOUTH CONSERVATION CORPS

"SEC. 2. (a) To carry out the purposes of this Act, there is established in the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture a Youth Conservation Corps (hereinafter referred to as the Corps'). The Corps shall consist of young men and women who are permanent residents of the United States, its territories, possessions, or trust territories, who have attained age fifteen but have not attained age nineteen, and whom the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture may employ during the summer months, without regard to the civil service or classification laws, rules, or regulations, for the purpose of developing, preserving, or maintaining the lands and waters of the United States under his jurisdiction.

Participants.

Summer employment.

"(b) The Corps shall be open to youth of both sexes and youth of all social, economic, and racial classifications, with no person being employed as a member of the Corps for a term in excess of ninety days during any single year.

Equal opportunity and employment; term.

"SECRETARIAL DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 3. (a) In carrying out this Act, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall—

"(1) determine, with other Federal agencies, the areas under the administrative jurisdiction of the Secretaries which are appropriate for carrying out programs using members of the Corps, and determine and select appropriate work and education programs and projects for participation by members of the Corps;

"(2) determine the rates of pay, hours, and other conditions of employment in the Corps, except that members of the Corps shall not be deemed to be Federal employees other than for the purposes of chapter 171 of title 28, United States Code, and chapter 81 of title 5, United States Code;

62 Stat. 982; 80 Stat. 306. 28 USC 2671. 80 Stat. 531; 82 Stat. 98. 5 USC 8101.

"(3) provide for such transportation, lodging, subsistence, and other services and equipment as they may deem necessary or appropriate for the needs of members of the Corps in their duties;

Regulations.

"(4) promulgate regulations to insure the safety, health, and welfare of the Corps members; and

Facilities, availability to educational institutions.

"(5) provide, to the extent possible, that permanent or semi-permanent facilities used as Corps camps be made available to local schools, school districts, State junior colleges and universities, and other educational institutions for use as environmental/ecological education camps during periods of nonuse by the Corps program.

Cost responsibility.

Costs for operations, maintenance, and staffing of Corps camp facilities during periods of use by non-Corps programs as well as any liability for personal injury or property damage stemming from such use shall be the responsibility of the entity or organization using the facility and shall not be a responsibility of the Secretaries or the Corps.

Unoccupied Federal facilities and surplus equipment, use.

"(b) Whenever economically feasible, existing but unoccupied Federal facilities and surplus or unused equipment (or both), of all types, including military facilities and equipment, shall be utilized for the purposes of the Corps, where appropriate and with the approval of the Federal agency involved. To minimize transportation costs, Corps members shall be employed on conservation projects as near to their places of residence as is feasible.

Contract authority.

"(c) The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture may contract with any public agency or organization or any private nonprofit agency or organization which has been in existence for at least five years for the operation of any Youth Conservation Corps project.

"PILOT GRANT PROGRAM FOR STATE PROJECTS

"SEC. 4. (a) The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall jointly establish a pilot grant program under which grants shall be made to States to assist them in meeting the cost of projects for the employment of young men and women to develop, preserve, and maintain non-Federal public lands and waters within the States. For purposes of this section, the term 'States' includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and American Samoa.

"States."

Application requirements.

"(b)(1) No grant may be made under this section unless an application therefor has been submitted to, and approved by, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture. Such application shall be in such form, and submitted in such manner, as the Secretaries shall jointly by regulation prescribe, and shall contain—

"(A) assurances satisfactory to the Secretaries that individuals employed under the project for which the application is submitted shall (i) have attained the age of fifteen but not attained the age of nineteen, (ii) be permanent residents of the United States or its territories, possessions, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, (iii) be employed without regard to the personnel laws, rules, and regulations applicable to full-time employees of the applicant, (iv) be employed for a period of not more than ninety days in any calendar year, and (v) be employed without regard to their sex or social, economic, or racial classification; and

"(B) such other information as the Secretaries may jointly by regulation prescribe.

Approval.

"(2) The Secretaries may approve applications which they determine (A) meet the requirements of paragraph (1), and (B) are for projects which will further the development, preservation, or mainte-

nance of non-Federal public lands or waters within the jurisdiction of the applicant.

"(c)(1) The amount of any grant under this section shall be determined jointly by the Secretaries, except that no grant for any project may exceed 80 per centum of the cost (as determined by the Secretaries) of such project. Limitation.

"(2) Payments under grants under this section may be made in advance or by way of reimbursement and at such intervals and on such conditions as the Secretaries find necessary. Payments.

"(d) Thirty per centum of the sums appropriated under section 6 for any fiscal year shall be used for making grants under this section for such fiscal year. Appropriation percentage.

"SECRETARIAL REPORTS

"SEC. 5. The Secretary of the Interior and Secretary of Agriculture shall annually prepare a joint report detailing the activities carried out under this Act and providing recommendations. Each report for a fiscal year shall be submitted concurrently to the President and the Congress not later than one hundred and eighty days following the close of that fiscal year. Joint report to President and Congress.

"AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 6. There are authorized to be appropriated amounts not to exceed $30,000,000 for fiscal year ending June 30, 1973, and $60,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, to be made available to the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out the purposes of this Act. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, funds appropriated for any fiscal year to carry out this Act shall remain available for obligation and expenditure until the end of the fiscal year following the fiscal year for which appropriated." Effective dates.

Approved October 27, 1972.

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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 92-1460 accompanying H.R. 16563 (Comm. on Education and Labor).
SENATE REPORT No. 92-796 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 118 (1972):
May 23, considered and passed Senate.
Oct. 11, considered and passed House, amended, in lieu of H.R. 16563.
Oct. 12, Senate concurred in House amendment.
WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS, Vol. 8, No. 44:
Oct. 28, Presidential statement.

GPO 83-139

Public Law 93-408
93rd Congress, S. 1871
September 3, 1974

# An Act

To amend the Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1970 (Public Law 91-567, 84 Stat. 1319) to expand and make permanent the Youth Conservation Corps, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.* That the Act of August 13, 1970 (84 Stat. 794) is amended to read as follows:

Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1970, amendment.
84 Stat. 1319.
42 USC prec. 2711 note.
16 USC 1701.

"POLICY AND PURPOSE

"SECTION 1. The Congress finds that the Youth Conservation Corps has demonstrated a high degree of success as a pilot program wherein American youth, representing all segments of society, have benefited by gainful employment in the healthful outdoor atmosphere of the national park system, the national forest system, other public land and water areas of the United States and by their employment have developed, enhanced, and maintained the natural resources of the United States, and whereas in so doing the youth have gained an understanding and appreciation of the Nation's environment and heritage equal to one full academic year of study, it is accordingly the purpose of this Act to expand and make permanent the Youth Conservation Corps and thereby further the development and maintenance of the natural resources by America's youth, and in so doing to prepare them for the ultimate responsibility of maintaining and managing these resources for the American people.

"YOUTH CONSERVATION CORPS

"SEC. 2. (a) To carry out the purposes of this Act, there is established in the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture a Youth Conservation Corps (hereinafter referred to as the 'Corps'). The Corps shall consist of young men and women who are permanent residents of the United States, its territories, possessions, trust territories, or Commonwealth of Puerto Rico who have attained age fifteen but have not attained age nineteen, and whom the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture may employ without regard to the civil service or classification laws, rules, or regulations, for the purpose of developing, preserving, or maintaining the lands and waters of the United States.

16 USC 1702.

Participants.

"(b) The Corps shall be open to youth from all parts of the country of both sexes and youth of all social, economic, and racial classifications with all Corps members receiving compensation consistent with work accomplished, and with no person being employed as a member of the Corps for a term in excess of ninety days during any single year.

Equal opportunity and employment, term.

88 STAT. 1066
88 STAT. 1067

"SECRETARIAL DUTIES AND FUNCTIONS

"SEC. 3. (a) In carrying out this Act, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall—

16 USC 1703.

"(1) determine the areas under their administrative jurisdictions which are appropriate for carrying out the programs using employees of the Corps;

"(2) determine with other Federal agencies the areas under the administrative jurisdiction of these agencies which are appropriate for carrying out programs using members of the Corps, and determine and select appropriate work and education programs and projects for participation by members of the Corps;

"(3) determine the rates of pay, hours, and other conditions of employment in the Corps, except that all members of the Corps shall not be deemed to be Federal employees other than for the purpose of chapter 171 of title 28, United States Code, and chapter 81 of title 5, United States Code.

62 Stat. 982; 80 Stat. 306. 28 USC 2671. 80 Stat. 531; 82 Stat. 98. 5 USC 8101. Regulations.

"(4) provide for such transportation, lodging, subsistence, and other services and equipment as they may deem necessary or appropriate for the needs of members of the Corps in their duties;

"(5) promulgate regulation to insure the safety, health, and welfare of the Corps members; and

Facilities, availability to educational institutions.

"(6) provide to the extent possible, that permanent or semi-permanent facilities used as Corps camps be made available to local schools, school districts, State junior colleges and universities, and other education institutions for use as environmental/ecological education camps during periods of nonuse by the Corps program.

Cost responsibility.

Costs for operations maintenance, and staffing of Corps camp facilities during periods of use by non-Corps programs as well as any liability for personal injury or property damage stemming from such use shall be the responsibility of the entity or organization using the facility and shall not be a responsibility of the Secretaries or the Corps.

Unoccupied Federal facilities and surplus equipment, use.

"(b) Existing but unoccupied Federal facilities and surplus or unused equipment (or both), of all types including military facilities and equipment, shall be utilized for the purposes of the Corps, where appropriate and with the approval of the Federal agency involved. To minimize transportation costs, Corps members shall be employed on conservation projects as near to their places of residence as is feasible.

Contract authority.

"(c) The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture may contract with any public agency or organization or any private nonprofit agency or organization which has been in existence for at least five years for the operation of any Youth Conservation Corps project.

"GRANT PROGRAM FOR STATE PROJECTS

16 USC 1704.

"SEC. 4. (a) The Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture shall jointly establish a program under which grants shall be made to States to assist them in meeting the cost of projects for the employment of young men and women to develop, preserve, and maintain non-Federal public lands and waters within the States. For purposes of this section, the term 'States' includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and American Samoa.

"States." 88 STAT. 1067 88 STAT. 1068

Application requirements.

"(b)(1) No grant may be made under this section unless an application therefor has been submitted to, and approved by, the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture. Such application shall be in such form, and submitted in such manner, as the Secretaries shall jointly by regulation prescribe, and shall contain—

"(A) assurances satisfactory to the Secretaries that individuals employed under the project for which the application is submitted shall (i) have attained the age of fifteen but not attained the age of nineteen, (ii) be permanent residents of the United States or its territories, possessions, or the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, (iii) be employed without regard to the personnel laws, rules, and regulations applicable to full-time employees of the applicant, (iv) be employed for a period of not more than ninety days in any calendar year, and (v) be employed without regard to their sex or social, economic, or racial classification; and

"(B) such other information as the Secretaries may jointly by regulation prescribe.

"(2) The Secretaries may approve applications which they determine (A) to meet the requirements of paragraph (1), and (B) are for projects which will further the development, preservation, or maintenance of non-Federal public lands or waters within the jurisdiction of the applicant. Approval.

"(c)(1) The amount of any grant under this section shall be determined jointly by the Secretaries, except that no grant for any project may exceed 80 per centum of the cost (as determined by the Secretaries) of such project. Limitation.

"(2) Payments under grants under this section may be made in advance or by way of reimbursement and at such intervals and on such conditions as the Secretaries find necessary. Payments.

"(d) Thirty per centum of the sums appropriated under section 6 for any fiscal year shall be made available for grants under this section for such fiscal year. Appropriation percentage.

"SECRETARIAL REPORTS

"SEC. 5. The Secretary of the Interior and Secretary of Agriculture shall annually prepare a joint report detailing the activities carried out under this Act and providing recommendations. Each report for a program year shall be submitted concurrently to the President and the Congress not later than April 1 following the close of that program year. Joint report to President and Congress. 16 USC 1705.

"AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS

"SEC. 6. There are authorized to be appropriated amounts not to exceed $60,000,000 for each fiscal year, which amounts shall be made available to the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out the purposes of this Act. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, funds appropriated for any fiscal year to carry out this Act shall remain available for obligation and expenditure until the end of the fiscal year following the fiscal year for which appropriated.". 16 USC 1706.

Approved September 3, 1974.

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LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 93-1223 accompanying H.R. 14897 (Comm. on Education and Labor).
SENATE REPORT No. 93-426 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:
Vol. 119 (1973): Oct. 8, considered and passed Senate.
Vol. 120 (1974): Aug. 19, considered and passed House, amended, in lieu of H.R. 14897.
Aug. 21, Senate concurred in House amendment.
WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS:
Vol. 10, No. 36: Sept. 3, Presidential statement.

INT:1599-74

GPO 38-139

# Appendix Two:
# Selected YCC Statistics

## YCC Statistics (as of 6/23/81)

| President's Proposed Budget | $1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 | Total to Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 0 | 0 | 3.5 | 10.0mm | 10.240mm | 10.40mm | 0 | 30.375mm | 60mm | 0 | 55 | 60/0 | |
| APPROPRIATIONS | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| FS | $1.25mm | $1.75mm | $1.75mm | $ 3.5mm | $ 4.634mm | $11.200mm | $21mm | $21mm | $21mm | $19.18mm | | | $106.264mm |
| DI | 1.25mm | 1.75mm | 1.75mm | 3.5mm | 4.634mm | 11.200mm | 21mm | 21mm | 21mm | 19.18mm | | | 106.264mm |
| States | - | - | - | 3.0mm | 3.972mm | 9.600mm | 18mm | 18mm | 18mm | 16.44mm | | | 87.012mm |
| Total | $2.50mm | $3.50mm | $3.50mm | $10.0mm | $13.240mm | $32.000mm | $60mm | $60mm | $60mm | $54.8mm | | | $299.54mm |

ACTUAL OBLIGATIONS (YCC $Only)

| | 1979 | 1980 |
|---|---|---|
| FS | 22,723,960 | 20,141,804 |
| DOI | 35,935,971 | 33,223,586 |
| Total | 58,659,931 | 53,365,390 |

APPRAISED VALUE OF WORK

| | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | Rate $ | 1980 | Rate | Total to Date | Rate |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FS | $894,000 | $1,242,247 | $1,501,648 | $2,090,050 | $3,489,398 | $7,002,139 | $13,361,236 | $18,567,000 | $18,093,973 | 0.86 | 16,993,191 | .86 | 83,234,882 | .79 |
| DI | 868,000 | 1,460,365 | 2,106,919 | 3,251,216 | 4,694,790 | 8,879,068 | 13,354,468 | 19,437,953 | 18,763,137 | 0.89 | 17,576,544 | .92 | 90,392,460 | .85 |
| States | - | - | - | 3,327,005 | 5,744,552 | 11,028,530 | 20,442,497 | 24,837,918 | 21,124,845 | 1.17 | 22,447,754 | 1.36 | 108,953,101 | 1.26 |
| | $1,762,000 | $2,702,612 | $3,608,567 | $8,668,271 | $13,928,740 | $26,909,737 | $47,158,201 | $62,842,871 | $57,981,955 | 0.97 | 57,017,489 | 1.04 | 282,580,443 | 0.94 |

APPRAISED VALUE OF WORK PLUS EA

| | 1979 | | 1980 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| FS | $24,125,297 | 1,15 | 22,651,923 | ($1.18) |
| DOI | 25,017,516 | 1.19 | 23,376,804 | ($1.21) |
| States | 28,166,460 | 1.57 | 29,994,591 | ($1.57) |
| Total | $77,309,273 | 1.29 | 76,023,318 | ($1.39) |

## YCC Statistics (as of 6/23/81)

| NO. OF ENROLLEES | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | Total to Date |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FS | 1,384 | 1,857 | 1,874 | 3,155 | 3,827 | 6,888 | 11,977 | 14,191 | 12,377 | 10,617 | 68,147 |
| DI | 1,292 | 1,638 | 1,636 | 2,658 | 3,621 | 7,388 | 11,379 | 15,182 | 12,483 | 10,490 | 67,767 |
| States | - | - | - | 4,000 | 5,536 | 8,838 | 14,025 | 17,435 | 14,635 | 12,793 | 77,262 |
| Total | 2,676 | 3,495 | 3,510 | 9,813 | 12,984 | 23,114 | 37,381 | 46,808 | 39,495 | 33,900 | 213,176 |
| NO. OF POSITIONS (SLOTS) | | | | | | | | | | | |
| FS | 1,127 | 1,438 | 1,542 | 2,563 | 2,905 | 5,725 | 10,215 | 12,299 | 10,530 | 8,913 | 57,257 |
| DI | 1,128 | 1,412 | 1,400 | 2,474 | 2,956 | 6,512 | 10,237 | 13,697 | 10,589 | 9,402 | 59,807 |
| States | - | - | - | 3,963 | 4,139 | 9.763 | 12,650 | 15,161 | 13,509 | 11,960 | 71,145 |
| Total | 2,255 | 2,850 | 2,942 | 9,000 | 10,000 | 22,000 | 33,102 | 41,157 | 34,628 | 30,275 | 188,209 |
| NO. OF CAMPS | | | | | | | | | | | |
| FS | 34 | 47 | 49 | 86 | 114 | 224 | 325 | 396 | 350 | 321 | 1,946 |
| DI | 30 | 51 | 54 | 94 | 128 | 250 | 386 | 464 | 432 | 229 | 2,118 |
| States | - | - | - | 150 | 208 | 526 | 789 | 738 | 675 | 482 | 3,568 |
| Total | 64 | 98 | 103 | 330 | 450 | 1,000 | 1,500 | 1,598 | 1,457 | 1,032 | 7,632 |

DEMOGRAPHICS

| | 1979 | 1980 |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Minority Enrollment | | |
| FS | 19 | 20 |
| DI | 30 | 30 |
| States | 25 | 24 |
| Total - combined average | 25 | 25 |
| 2. Family Income ($15 or less) - % | | |
| FS | 60 | 56 |
| DI | 63 | 59 |
| States | 56 | 47 |
| Total - combined average | 59 | 54 |
| 3. Urban Youth (Over 50m pop) - % | | |
| FS | 21 | 20 |
| DI | 20 | 20 |
| States | 30 | 27 |
| Total - combined average | 24 | 23 |

Footnotes: Chapter I

1. See for examples of the failure of implementation, Euguene Bardach's The Implementation Game: What Happens After a Bill Becomes a Law. (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1977).

2. Martha Derthick, New Towns in Town (Washington, D.C.: The Urban Institute, 1972.)

3. Interview, Governor Aker, Dec. 11, 1980. Aker stated that the OMB often called, but seldom sent written documents.

4. J.J. McEntee, "Final Report of the Director of the Civilian Conservation Corps," c. 1943, unpublished, p. 9.

5. Ibid,, p. 43, 50. Something of the scope of the CCC program can be grasped in the following quotation from the same source, p. 44: "The CCC boys set out some 2-1/3 billion tree seedlings. What does the planting out of 2,355,587,000 young trees mean? It means for one thing that over 2 1/2 million acres of otherwise barren, denuded, or unproductive land now has a chance to grow timber for human needs, or for human enjoyment, or to help valuable soil from washing away. . . "

6. U.S. Congress, House, Hearings before the General Subcommittee on Education and Labor on H.R. 1890, 88th Cong., 1st Sess., (Washington, D.C.; Government Printing Office, 1963). The hearings were held in Feb. and lasted six days. They included 16 pages of photographs of CCC work.

7. Interview, Bob Wolf, Dec. 12, 1980.

8. This view of the Labor Department and of the reappearance of the YCC idea corrobrated by Wolf, Ibid., and Lloyd Meeds, Interview, Dec. 21, 1980.

9. Ibid., Meeds.

10. Ibid.; Fomer Representative Marvin Esch also knew of the strategy worked out between Meeds and Jackson, Interview, Marvin Esch, Dec. 15, 1980.

11. They used this strategy for each of the three YCC bills.

12. Meeds, Interview, op. cit.

13. Aker, Interview, Dec. 16, 1980.

14. Kimball, Interview, Nov. 12, 1980. Confirmed in Interview with Jack McElroy, Dec. 10, 1980.

15. Compare this original version of the bill with that of P.L. 91-378 reproduced in Appendix One. Original version in Congressional Record - Senate, Feb. 18, 1969, S1795.

Chapter I (cont.)

16. Ibid., p. S1795.

17. U.S. Congress, Senate. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Hearing on S. 1076, To establish a Youth Conservation Corps, 91st Congress, 1st Sess., April 21, 1969.

18. Ibid., p. 4.

19. Ibid., p. 22-23.

20. U.S. Congress, Senate. Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Senate Reports on Public Bills, 91st Congress, Doc. No. 91-270. Youth Conservation Corps. Report to accompany S.1076, June 24, 1969.

21. Interview, Meeds, op. cit.

22. U.S. Congress, House. Committee of Education and Labor. Hearings on H.R. 11145, A Bill to Establish in the Department of Labor a Youth Conservation Corps, 91st Congress, 1st Sess., Oct. 22-23, 1969, pp. 22-27.

23. Full text of P.L. 91-378 in Appendix One.

24. The YCC was assigned to the Division of Manpower and Youth Conservation in the Forest Service and to the Office of Youth Programs in Interior.

25. Kimball, Interview, Nov. 21, 1980.

26. Interoffice Memorandum from Shultz, in files of Forest Service, Office of Human Resources, September 1970.

27. Kimball, Interview, op. cit.

28. On July 24, 1970, Esteban E. Torres, Executive Director of the East Los Angeles Community Union, submitted what was certainly the first YCC program proposal. It was very complete, but unfortunately premature and not suited to the form the Pilot Program would take in the following year.

29. Comparison of the the two Departments was greatly assisted through interviews with Peter Mowitt, Interior, Dec. 2 & 11, 1980, and with Jack McElroy, Nov. 13 & Dec. 10, 1980.

30. The specific comparisons can be found in the Institute for Social Research, An Evaluation of the 1972 Youth Conservation Corps (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1972) Summary Chapter. Also see Youth Conservation Corps, 1971 Annual Report, p. 37.

31. This overview of the YCC administration concurred in by Robert Lake, Interview, Dec. 9, 1980; & Peter Mowitt, Interview, Dec. 2, 1980.

Footnotes: Chapter II

1. The precise sequence of events during this period cannot be reconstructed from the files, nor do the participants now agree entirley on what happened. All agree, however, that planning for 1971 never stopped completely, since most had confidence in the ability of the Jackson-Meeds forces to put the YCC back into the FY-1972 budget.

2. Memorandum in Forest Service Files.

3. The Memorandum of Understanding and its first supplement may be found in the Youth Conservation Corps Program 1971 - Annual Report, Appendices D & E.

4. A roughly similar process occurred in the Department of the Interior.

5. Full text of P.L. 91-378 in Appendix One.

6. Interview, Jack McElroy, Nov. 13, 1980.

7. Interview with "French" Kreger, Nov. 14, 1980.

8. Interviews, Lake, Nov. 19, and Kimball, Nov. 21, 1980.

9. Copy of Lake letter, in correspondence files, 1971, Manpower and Youth Conservation Programs. (Hereafter abbreviated MPYT Files).

10. List of books selected in memorandum from Kimball to Regional Foresters, April 23, 1971, MPYT Files.

11. Information on publicity from Lake, Interview, op. cit.
Film "We can't let it Go" viewed courtesy of the Forest Service.

12. Richard L. Knox & Patrick E. Felker, "The Feasibility of a Federal State Cost-Shared Youth Conservation Program" report submitted to the President, Aug. 13, 1971. (unpublished)

13. "Survey Report, Youth Conservation Corps, Forest Service, Washington, Montana, Idaho, and California. As of July 20, 1972" Report No.[899-4-S. Office of the Inspector General, USDA.

14. A good sample of these dire predictions can be found in the Congressional Record, House, June 15, 1970, H5525-H5540.

15. Letter from Blight, September 16, 1971, in MPYT Files. In response the transmittal letter to the President was rewritten.

16. Jackson introduced S.2454 on Aug. 6, 1971. Drafting service had been provided by Interior's Peter Mowitt.

17. Interview, Larry Phillips, Senator Jackson's staff, Nov. 1980.

18. A copy of the request was also transmitted to Richard Bodman, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, as a matter of courtesy.

19. Aker acted, of course, in consultation with his superiors and with the full knowledge of the Forest Service's YCC administrators. Although techically the Forest Service was designated the lead agency, in requesting and receiving appropriations, it appears that Aker had more direct contact with OMB, in the sense of personal visits to discuss the program's needs. The Aker request for $30 million was made in an amended form of the bill S.2456 which Aker wished to send to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. The revised bill was not sent, however, and a new paragraph was inserted instead. It read simply, "This Department recommends against enactment of S.2454," and was inserted in the report sent to that committee.

20. U.S. Congress, Senate. Hearing Before the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on S2454, 92nd Congress, 1st Sess. Oct. 14, 1971, pp. 11-13.

21. Ibid., p. 33

22. Interviews, Mowitt & Lake, op. cit., The force of the YCC enrollee impression on Congress cannot be found in the hearings so much as in the still vivid recollections of them.

23. Ibid., p. 22

24. Ibid., p. 25.

25. For a good account of the mood of this time, see Gary Wills, Nixon Agonistes (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1970) particularly pps. 319-416. The view of the impact of these hearings on legislators was confirmed in interviews with Marvin Esch and Lloyd Meeds, op. cit.

26. All statistics taken form YCC Annual Report, 1971, op. cit.

27. Senate Hearings, op. cit. (Hearing on . . . S.2454), p. 39-48.

28. Ibid., p. 53.

29. Ibid., p. 53.

30. Memoradum from V.A. Parker, Chief, Division of Operation, Forest Service, to Forest Supervisors, Nov. 12, 1971, MPYT Files. More detailed memos followed.

31. Interview, Jack McElroy, Nov. 13, 1980.

Chapter II (cont.)

32. Overview of the Environmental Education Program provided by Lake and Mowitt in separate interviews, op. cit. Infomation on the ISR research effort and its findings from Dr. Beverly Driver, Interview, Dec. 11, 1980.

33. Interview, McElroy, op. cit.; Confirmed by Interview, Driver, op. cit.

34. Survey Research Center Institute for Social Research, An Evaluation of the 1971 Youth Conservation Corps Program (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1972); Also in Youth Conservation Corps, 1972 Annual Report, p. 13.

35. Ibid., p. 35.

36. Interview, John Stasko, Dec. 16, 1980.

37. U.S. Congress, Senate Report, "Amending the Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1970," 92nd Congress, 2d Sess., May 18, 1972, p. 1.

38. U.S. Congress, House Select Committee on Education and Labor. Hearings before the Select Subcommittee on Labor on H.R. 10456, 92nd Congress, 2nd Sess., May 24-25, p. 3.

39. Ibid., pp. 45-48.

40. Ibid., p. 92.

41. Interview, Meeds, op. cit.

42. Interview, Mowitt, Dec. 2, 1980.

43. McElroy, notes from the mark-up session, Sept. 6 1972, MPYT Files.

44. Interview, Meeds, op. cit.

45. Interview, Esch, op. cit.

46. Interview, Aker, Nov., op. cit.

47. The many memorandae concerning what was to become P.L. 92-597 are preserved in the MPYT Files. Full text of the law in Appendix One.

Footnotes: Chapter III

1. Lake memorandum, Dec. 12, 1972, to Regional Foresters, MPYT Files.

2. Institute for Social Research, An Evaluation of the 1972 Youth Conservation Corps Program. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1973) These results were summarized in a Lake memorandum to the Regional Foresters, April 18, 1973, MPYT Files, p. 3.

3. Ibid., p. 1.

4. Michigan 1972 Report, op. cit., Chapter Seven, p. 17.

5. This Michigan finding was cited in another memorandum to Regional Foresters, April 19, 1972. The results were similarly communicated to the field by Aker and Mowitt in the Interior Department.

6. U.S. Department of the Interior and U.S. Department of Agriculture. Youth Conservation Corps, 1973 Annual Report, p. 31.

7. Representative George W. Collins, Chairman of the Agriculture and Rural Affairs Committee of the Congressional Black Caucus wrote to Earl Butz, Secretary of Agriculture, on Feb. 17, 1972. Collins was reacting to a UPI news story which mistakenly reported that "most of the 95 YCC camp jobs would be awarded to middle and upper income youth." This letter and the Forest Service reply were sent to all Regional Foresters, to alert them to the need for increasing minority recruitment efforts.

8. Lake memorandum, Feb. 17, 1973, MPYT Files. Aker, in his second interview, noted that minority recruitment was often difficult for both Departments because Federal lands are not near urban centers of minority populations. McElroy concurred.

9. U.S. Department of the Interior and U.S. Department of Agriculture. Youth Conservation Corps, 1972 Annual Report, pp. 22-23. Follow-up studies on minorities and the YCC were performed by IRS in the next two years.

10. U.S. Department of the Interior and Department of Agriculture. Youth Conservation Corps, 1973, Annual Report , p. 31.

11. Ibid., p. 30.

12. Ibid., pp. 27,30. Although Aker, Lake and Bell all mentioned the superior work performance of the female enrollees, this particular correlation has not been made before.

13. Ibid., p. 14.

14. Ibid., pp. 33-35.

Chapter III (cont.)

15. Senator Jackson introduced S.1871 on May 23, 1973, exactly one year after the very similar S2454 had passed the Senate.

16. Note, however, that Meeds did wait until S1871 had passed the Senate before holding hearings on his own bill.

17. "OMB Position Paper on S.1871" (unsigned) Summer of 1973. Copy furnished by Peter Mowitt, pp. 1,2 quoted here.

18. "Response to be taken on OMB Paper on S.1871" (unsigned), Summer of 1973, copy provided by Mowitt, p. 1.

19. Ibid., p. 3.

20. Lake memorandum, addressee unspecified, June 15, 1973, copy in MPYT Files.

21. Department of the Interior, "Youth Conservation Corps and Youth Opportunities Analyses for Fiscal Year 1974 Program," pp. 8, 18, (29 pages unpublished).

22. Interview, Meeds, op. cit.

23. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Hearing on S.1871 A Bill to Amend the Youth Conservation Corps Act of 1972, 93rd Congress, 1st Sess., July 25, 1973, p. 54.

24. This continued unanimity reflected Senator Jackson's unwavering support of the measure, and also the very positive response to the YCC which Senators were getting from their constituents. Outside Washington, the program had virtually no enemies.

25. "Position Paper on the Office of Management and Budget Constraints on Fiscal Year 1-74 Youth Conservation Corps Program," (unsigned) copy in MPYT Files. Includes both OMB objections and YCC administrative responses.

26. Interview, Lake, op. cit.

27. "Position Paper on the . . .," op. cit. Interview with Wayne Bell, Nov. 13, 1980, very useful on the battle with OMB.

28. Interview, McElroy, Nov. 1980.

29. Interviews, Leon Anderson, Dec. 10, 1980; and Hollis Hardy, Nov. 12, 1980.

30. Interviews, McElroy & Mowitt, op. cit.

Chapter III (cont.)

31. Interview, Bell, op. cit. "Grants to States for Establishing Youth Conservation Corps Programs" Federal Register, Vol. 38, No. 247, Dec. 27, 1973, p. 35307.

32. Ibid., pp. 35308-10.

33. Interview, Each, op. cit.; McElroy, notes, Sept. 6, 1972, now in MPYT Files.

34. U.S. Department of the Interior and Department of Agriculture, Youth Conservation Corps, 1974, Annual Report, pp. 33-39.

35. Statistics compiled by Hollis Hardy. A breakdown by year can be found in Appendix Two.

36. Chart One worked out in conjunction with Hollis Hardy, and reviewed by Wayne Bell.

37. Chart Two discussed with Prof. Gerald DiCerbo, of the State University of New York at Buffalo. Confirmed by Pat Boyd, OYP, USDI.

38. Those responding were Lake, Mowitt, Aker, and Kreger, Interviews, op. cit.

39. This overview of the Forest Service's operation developed through interviews with Bell and materials provided by Stasko.

40. This overview of the Interior Department's operations developed through the interviews with Mowitt, Stasko, and Murdock.

41. YCC 1974 Annual Report, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

42. Table developed based on the same source, Ibid., p. 38.

43. Information on the Samoans furnished by both Aker and Stasko in interviews, op. cit.

44. U.S. Congress, House. Committee on Education and Labor. Hearing Before the Select Subcommittee on Labor on H.R. 14897, 93rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Aug. 29, 1974.

45. Since the House already had approved a compromise bill, one might question the need for the oversight hearings. They were held for two reasons: no direct testimony had ever been gathered from the West where many YCC camps were located; perhaps more importantly, Representative Meeds was up for reelection.

46. Full text of the bill is in Appendix One. Although Ford signed the bill, he did not push for YCC appropriations, which had to be added, as in the Nixon years, through the supplemental appropriations process, spearheaded by Jackson and Meeds.

47. See, for example, these three documents fortunately preserved by the General Accounting Office: ACG 76-3; ACG 76-18; and ACG 76-20. All refer to the impundment of YCC funds by the Ford Administration. A sample quotation from ACG 76-18, p. 3: "The Youth Conservation Corps has repeatedly been the subject of impoundment actions which, according to program officials is having a serious impact on program execution. . ."

Footnotes: Conclusion

1. Theodore Roosevelt, A Compilation of the Messages and Speeches of Theodore Roosevelt. 1901-1905, pp. 355-356.

2. Paul Goodman, Growng up Absurd, New York, Random House, 1960, pp. 37 and passim.

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While much of the important information contained in this history came from oral history and in-house documents, considerable published resources also exist for those wishing further information about the Youth Conservation Corps. Of particular value are the Annual YCC Reports and the studies performed by the Institue for Social Research of the University of Michigan. A distillation of much of this material is also available in the hearings published as part of the Congessional Record. Beyond these sources, newspaper and magazine articles are not numerous on the YCC; those which exist focus on individual camps or merely give a general overview of the program. One previous history of the YCC exists, written by Diane Krivit, a former enrollee in the program. It is a useful short summary of the legislative history of the YCC, but does not deal with its administration in detail. Those wishing to compare the YCC and its offspring, the Young Adult Conservation Corps, should read Jack McElroy's useful and informative "History of the Young Adult Conservation Corps."

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